

# THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD

A. POEBEL

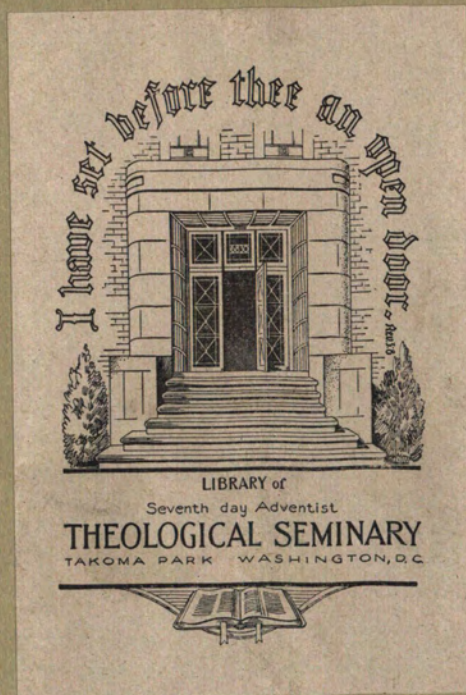
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## THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD

A. POEBEL

### I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The new king list discussed in the following was found at Khorsabad, the site of ancient Dûr-Šarrukîn, in the course of excavations conducted there in the season 1932/33 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. When the news of its discovery came to Chicago, Professor Breasted, then director of the Oriental Institute, charged the writer with the publication of the list. Since the king list was one of the most outstanding finds of the Institute's expeditions, it was Professor Breasted's plan to have it published in an impressive form and with a full treatment of Assyrian chronology before 900 B.C., which it promised to place for the first time on a secure basis. It was evident from the outset that realization of this plan would require considerable time, and it was therefore decided to publish first and as soon as possible a preliminary report setting forth in mere outlines the importance of the new text for the history and particularly the chronology of the Assyrian kingdom. But a speedy execution of these plans was prohibited by many circumstances, chief among them, apart from a one-and-a-half year's delay in the transport of the tablet to Chicago, the fact that in recent years the writer has been engaged with other duties of a more urgent and immediate character. However, the preliminary report here published is broader in scope than was planned at first, since it includes a few of the results which have been arrived at in the course of my investigations and which will be of interest, I believe, to a wider circle than that interested merely in the king list as such.

The tablet containing the list measures  $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches, but both at the upper-left and at the upper-right corners a rectangular piece has been cut out, and the tablet thus shows the shape indicated in Figure 1. In the lower part of each vertical side of the reduced upper portion of the tablet, a horizontal hole can be observed. As I shall show in the final publication of the list, the two holes doubtless served to hold wooden or metal pins on which the tablet swung in a frame or casing contrived to hold the tablet in a good position for reading and to allow turning it conveniently from its obverse to its reverse side.

Unfortunately the tablet is not undamaged. The loss of parts of the corners of the unscripted top piece is of no consequence, but very regrettable are the loss of the lower-left corner and the destruction of a

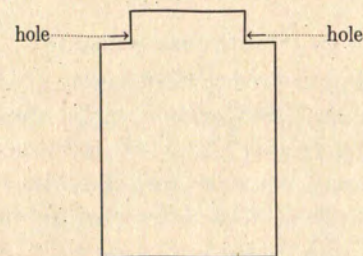


FIG. 1

comparatively large piece of the surface of the first column a little above that corner, since these involve the loss of the numbers indicating the length of the reigns of five Old Assyrian kings. As may be concluded from the two parallel grooves running along opposite sides of the destroyed part of the surface, the damage in this case was probably done by the tool of the workman who dug up the tablet from the ground. Possibly it was likewise with his instrument that the lower-right corner portion of the tablet was smashed into several pieces. Most of these pieces have been joined again to the main portion of the tablet, but the destruction of part of the tablet surface unfortunately brings with it the loss of the statements concerning the length of reign of two Middle Assyrian kings. However, we shall see later on that the length of the two reigns may be accurately determined by synchronization of the king-list chronology with chronological statements in the inscriptions of certain Assyrian kings.

The tablet is kiln fired. Most of its surface is now rather rough—

though still quite even in appearance—and of a dull light brown-red-dish color. Originally, however, as can be seen from considerable traces in parts of the tablet, the whole tablet surface was covered by a very thin layer of fine ivory-colored clay, faintly tinged with green, that gave the tablet a very smooth and pleasing appearance. Fortunately the surfaces of two vocabularies from Khorsabad, coated in the same manner, are much better preserved and still show the pleasing effect of the coating. I hope that a chemical analysis will make it possible to determine the details of that ancient coating technique.

The text of the king list extends through four columns, two on the obverse of the tablet and two on the reverse. The first and the second as well as the third and the fourth columns are separated from each other by a vertical double line, and each of these columns is again subdivided into two half-columns by a similar vertical double line. In detail the arrangement of the text is as follows. Where the statement devoted to a certain king contains all the items intended to be conveyed (i.e., besides the name of the king, that of his father, and the length of the king's reign), it is usually spread over two full lines (= four half-lines) in the following manner (Fig. 2):

|         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|
| X,      | son of Y,          |
| x years | exercised kingship |

FIG. 2

Nevertheless, in comparatively many cases (namely, whenever the scribe feared that the space which he intended to fill with a certain text portion would not suffice), the statement is crowded into one line, the arrangement then being as follows (Fig. 3):

|              |                            |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| X, son of Y, | x years exercised kingship |
|--------------|----------------------------|

FIG. 3

On the other hand, in cases where the scribe inserts before the statement on the length of the king's reign some additional remark or remarks relating to events prior to the king's accession to the throne, the section devoted to a particular king may consist of three and even more lines. In cases, however, where only the descent of the king but

not the length of his reign is known, the reference is given without exception as in line 1 of Figure 2, while, finally, in those cases where nothing but the name of the king is known, the space allotted to that king is only one half-line.

In those cases where the statement devoted to one king contains all items, it is separated from the preceding and the following statements by simple horizontal dividing-lines, but the text lines within such a section are not separated from each other by dividing-lines, each section devoted to a king thus being clearly set off from every other section by means of the dividing lines inclosing it.

On the other hand, none of the three groups composed of kings whose regnal years were unknown—and this is the case for the first thirty-two kings—has dividing-lines between the names of the various kings that form those groups. But every subscription found at the end of a group and giving the total number as well as a short characterization of the kings enumerated in that group is set off by a dividing-line from the following group of kings and, in the case of the first two groups, even from the kings listed before the subscription. By this device the various groups as such, too, stand out very clearly. The reason why the dividing-line before the subscription is dispensed with in the third group evidently is the fact that the subscription begins in the second half of a line.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason it is omitted in the only instance of group enumeration outside the three groups at the beginning of the list, namely, in the second column in the case of six consecutive kings who together ruled only a portion of the unfinished year of the king preceding that group.

The lower part of the fourth, i.e., the last, tablet column finally contains the tablet subscription, set off from the king list proper merely by much wider spacing of the signs as well as of the lines. It states that the list has been copied from a king-list tablet in the city of Aššûr by a certain Kandilanu, scribe of a temple in the city of Arbail in the easternmost part of Assyria, on the twentieth day of the month *araḥ lu-lu-bi-e* of the second *limmu* of Adad-EN-GIN, *šaknu* of Aššûr, i.e., in the 7th official regnal year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III (108),<sup>2</sup> the immediate successor of Aššûr-nerâri V (107), with whose reign the king list closes.

<sup>1</sup> The enumeration of the kings in this group comprises 3½ lines, the subscription 1½ lines.

<sup>2</sup> The number in parentheses following the name of a king indicates his place in the row of Assyrian rulers enumerated in the king list (supplemented by later documents).

Apart from orthographical differences and apart from the fact that our tablet carries the list of Assyrian rulers ten reigns further, our Khorsabad list is a duplicate of the much-damaged Assur king list published by Nassouhi in AOf IV, 1-11, and henceforth referred to by us as Assur king list A, or simply as Assur A. Unfortunately the date of this list is broken off, but in view of the fact that the list ends with the reign of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97), after which it has a horizontal line<sup>3</sup> and a large uninscribed space, as well as in view of the analogy offered by the Khorsabad list, we may confidently assume that this list was written in the reign of the immediate successor of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II, i.e., Aššûr-dan II (98). Probably, therefore, Assur A is about 190 years older than our Khorsabad list. Another even older specimen of the king-list text is represented by the small Assur fragment VAT 11554, published by Schroeder in KAVI as No. 15 and designated by us as Assur B. Although only a few lines of its first and fourth columns are preserved, the fact that it enumerates the kings Aššûr-nerâri III (80), Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), and Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82) in its fourth column, while both the Khorsabad list and Assur A mention them already in their third columns,<sup>4</sup> may be taken as an indication that Assur B closed with a king six or seven more reigns before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97), the last king mentioned in Assur A.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE FIRST GROUP OF KINGS

The first group of rulers enumerated in column 1, lines 1-9, comprises the following names (here given in the same arrangement as they are found on the tablet):<sup>6</sup>

- |             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| 1. Tudia    |            |
| 2. Adamu    | 3. Iangi   |
| 4. Kirišamu | 5. Harharu |

<sup>3</sup> This dividing line is important, since beginning with its second column Assur A does not separate the various reigns by dividing-lines.

<sup>4</sup> In the Khorsabad list the section relating to the three kings begins in the middle of the column (l. 23); in Assur A, about three lines before the beginning of the last quarter (l. 30).

<sup>5</sup> This point, however, is not so certain as one would desire, for Assur A leaves a portion of its fourth column uninscribed, and this space might well have been utilized by Assur B to record a number of reigns.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers preceding the names are not on the tablet. They indicate the position of the ruler in the long row of kings of Aššûr enumerated in the king list. No attempt has been made to render the names according to etymological theories, each sign being rendered with the phonetic value most common in the later periods. The readings are therefore in many cases only provisional. Note especially that *d* in several cases might be *t*, that *b* might be *p*, and *z* might be *š*.

- |            |             |
|------------|-------------|
| 6. Mandaru | 7. Imšu     |
| 8. ḤARŠU   | 9. Didānu   |
| 10. Ḥanū   | 11. Zuabu   |
| 12. Nuabu  | 13. Abazu   |
| 14. TILĪ   | 15. Ašaraḥ  |
| 16. Ušpia  | 17. Apiašal |

Neither the father's name nor the length of reign is given. For the sake of appearance as well as to make better use of the line spaces, the names in this section of the tablet are arranged so that each half-line contains the name of one king, with the exception of the right half-line of line 1, which, owing to the upward slant of the lines, is much smaller than the first half-line and therefore is left uninscribed. Note that the enumeration does not run in two parallel vertical columns, as is customary in modern lists, but (with the exception of l. 1) runs from the left half-line to the right half-line of one line, to the left and again to the right half of the following line, etc.

At the end of the enumeration of kings, i.e., in line 10, we read the following subscription: "a total of 17 kings who lived in tents (*a-ši-bu-tu kul-ta-re*).<sup>7</sup> This interesting statement implies, of course, that the "kings" of this first group did not reside continually at Assur but were nomad rulers who moved with their tribe and herds from place to place within the territory claimed by them.

Unfortunately the list is silent about the name and the nationality of the tribe or tribes led by those nomad rulers. But, judging from the fact that all these names can well be conceived as belonging to some Semitic idiom, we may take it as certain that they were of Semitic origin. Note, for instance, the name Zu-a-bu, which it is quite natural to regard as identical with Su-a-bu<sup>7</sup> and Su-mu-a-bi,<sup>8</sup> the name of the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, even though in our list the name is written with the sign *zu*. It must, of course, be taken into consideration that at the time of the dynasty of Akkad and the immediately following period—it will later be shown that this is the approximate time of our nomad kings—the syllable *su* was regularly written with the sign *zu*, and it is quite possible that the compilers of the king list kept this writing. For Em-šu (Im-šu) compare E-mi-šum, the name of the second king of Larsa, which, if its initial *e* is short,

<sup>7</sup> Date list for the time from Suabu to Samsu-iluna, LIH, No. 101 (written at the time of Ammi-zaduga), col. 1, l. 15.

<sup>8</sup> In the so-called Babylonian king list B, obv., l. 1 (very late).

would be the unelided form of our name. For HAR-ŠU (Ḥur-šu or Ḥar-šu) one may compare names like Ḥu-ru-šum (LIH, No. 15, l. 17) and Ḥur-ša-nim (gen.; CT IV, 44b, l. 19), Ḥur-ša-a-nim (CT VIII, 18b, l. 24), Ḥu-ur-ša!-nim (CT II, 22, l. 26). Di-da-a-nu might be a contracted form of Da-wi-da-nim (gen.; CT VIII, 31a, l. 21; 31b, ll. 19 and 21).<sup>9</sup> For A-da-mu one could think of Hebrew *ʾādām*, "man," if the second *a* is an unelided short *a*, or of a form like Arabic *ʾādamu* (< *ʾaʿdamu*), "reddish," "brown." Ḥar-ḥa-ru can be a reduplicating form like *kap-ka-pu*, *dandannu*, *rebrebtu*, etc. A-ša-ra-aḥ might be a name composed of a form of *uš*, "to come forth," and *urḥ*, "moon" ("month"). For Ušpia and Apiašal see the remarks on pp. 273 f. (and especially n. 67 on p. 274). Note also that twelve of the seventeen names show the Semitic nominative ending *u*; that Ia-an-gi may be a verb form with the prefix *ia-*, found so frequently in non-Akkadian Semitic names of the Hammurabi period; and that the *-ia* of Tudia and Ušpia and the *-ānu* of Didānu may be the hypocoristic endings *-ia* and *-ānum*, likewise frequently found in names of the First Dynasty.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, there is among these names not one that is so un-Semitic in character as to make a foreign origin absolutely certain. This refutes, of course, or at least deprives of its basis, the theory that the Assyrian empire took its origin from an old Hurrite or some other non-Semitic state or settlement, a theory put forth in the main on the strength of the fact that the names of Ušpia, Sulili, and Kikia, the earliest of the Old Assyrian rulers then known, did not lend themselves readily to a Semitic etymology, in conjunction, of course, with the observation that peoples of a non-Semitic nationality were in the vicinity of Assur not only in the middle of the second millennium B.C. but already in a very early period. To be sure, some of the names presented in the king list, as, for example, Zuabu and especially Ašaraḥ, if the suggested explanations should prove correct, would appear to be already in a comparatively much advanced stage of development that might seem entirely too early for that period. But it may be recalled

<sup>9</sup> Hardly identical with the substantive (and adjective?) *di-ta-nu* = Sumerian *alim* (CT XII, 29 f., col. 4, l. 54; CT XIV, 1 f., col. 3, l. 7), although the writing of *ta* with *da* was a regular orthographic feature of the time of the dynasty of Akkad. But if one assumes an archaic writing in this instance, one could expect the syllable *di* to be written with the sign *ti*.

<sup>10</sup> For *-ānu* cf. also Ib-ra-nu-um, 16th (or 15th) king of the Quṭean dynasty (7th king, counting from its end.)

that king lists, date lists, chronicles, etc., as a rule give the names of the early rulers in the form and orthography of their own period. Thus, for example, the name form Su-a-bu instead of Su-mu-a-bu-um<sup>11</sup> appears already in a date list written at the time of Ammi-zaduga.<sup>12</sup> The name of the third king of Babylon usually appears in the uncontracted form Ša-bi-um on documents written in his own time, but already in a few contemporary legal documents it appears in the contracted form Ša-bu-um, which probably represents an adaptation to the Akkadian language of that time, and in the late king-list chronicle King, CEBK II, 143 ff. (pp. 46 ff.), rev., col. 1', l. 3', it even appears as Ša-bu-u. In the chronicle CEBK II, 121 ff., rev., l. 7', the name of A-bi-e-šu-u<sup>3</sup> of Babylon appears as A-bi-ši, and in the Babylonian king list B even as E-bi-šum, while that of Am-mi-za-du-ga (Ammi-šaduqa) in the same list is written Am-mi-sa-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga. Note also A-dara-kala<sub>m</sub>-ma and A-kur-UL-an-na in Babylonian king list B, but A.A-dara(-kala<sub>m</sub>-ma) and É-kur-UL(-an-na) in king list A. Moreover, although it seems to be a widespread opinion that advanced forms did not yet exist in certain early periods, actual observations prove that among related or originally even identical idioms one of them may in a certain early period have already reached the stage of development which the other did not reach until centuries or millenniums later. Literary Hebrew, for example, and literary Aramaic showed a much more advanced development at 300 B.C. than did literary Arabic after A.D. 600. In some respects, as in the contraction of diphthongs and in the elision of unstressed vowels, even the Akkadian of the time of the dynasty of Akkad in the third millennium B.C. is more advanced than the literary Arabic of the seventh century A.D. Theoretically, therefore, it is quite possible that the nomads from whose tribal organization the Assyrian state developed actually spoke a Semitic dialect which had already achieved a highly advanced stage of development. Such a fact would be in no way remarkable, since the regions around Assur were old Subarean territory and since languages superimposing themselves on another language are likely to change very rapidly. In the absence to date of any extensive inscriptional material with a sufficient number of other names, however, the question of the state of the dialect spoken by the Assyrian nomads is almost a purely academic one; it is here

<sup>11</sup> Cf. OIP XLIII, 191: date formula No. 113.

<sup>12</sup> King, LII II, No. 101, col. 1, l. 15.

touched upon merely for the purpose of meeting one-sided and inconclusive arguments in the other direction. It may, however, be pointed out that the idea that the native language of nomad peoples in Babylonia or Assyria or in their vicinity was the Akkadian language or some Akkadian dialect obviously is quite out of the question.

As regards the name by which the old Assyrian nomad tribe was known, the easiest and most attractive solution would be to assume that it was Aššûr, which was also the name of the tribal deity and later that of the city of Aššûr, which derived its name from the fact that it had developed around a sanctuary devoted to that tribal deity at the site of the later city. Such an assumption might be supported with certain arguments which by themselves are completely inconclusive but which in spite of this fact might be used to sketch certain concatenations, which, if harmonizing in all their features and in the absence of unambiguously contradictory evidence, quite naturally tend to acquire a certain substantiality. These arguments are as follows.

1. Gen. 25:3 contains the statement that the sons of Dedan, who according to the preceding text—like Sheba—was a son of Jokshan and through him the grandson of Abraham and Keturah,<sup>13</sup> were the Ashurim (Aššûrim), the Letushim, and the Leummim. The Keturah (Q'ûrâ) peoples concededly were Arabian tribes, and as one of them the Ashurim of Genesis, chapter 25, were, of course, nomads. If the tradition concerning the name is at all to be relied upon, at least the possibility that these Ashurim, a subdivision of the better-known tribe Dedan, are in some way connected with the Assyrian nomads will almost force itself upon our minds. The fact that Gen. 25:3b, because the three tribes are mentioned in the gentilic form, is a later addition to the original text is, of course, quite irrelevant for the questions in which we are here interested, but it may be considered as doubtful whether the interpolator—the correctness of the tradition concerning the name of course presupposed—wanted to refer to the old Assyrian nomads instead of to some small portion of the Ashur tribe still living in old Dedan territory. There is, however, no telling whether actually there did not still exist at his time an old tradition that the founders of the Assyrian empire stemmed from a branch of the tribe Dedan.

<sup>13</sup> According to P, Gen. 10:7, Sheba and Dedan were sons of Raamah and through him grandsons of Cush, while Ashur, according to P, Gen. 10:22, was a son of Shem (=Sumer).

2. In Gen. 10:8-12 we read: "And Cush begot Nimrod, who<sup>14</sup> began to be a mighty one on the earth. . . .<sup>15</sup> And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh in the land Shinar. From that land went out Ashur and he built Nineveh and Rehoboth-ir and Calah and Resen between Nineveh and Calah. This is the great city." For Assyriologists the passage as it stands has been a veritable crux, since neither Nimrod, nor Calneh, Rehoboth-ir, and Resen could be unambiguously identified from Assyrian sources. Moreover, the present text fails to define the relation between Ashur and Nimrod, nor does it indicate, if Ashur actually is the subject of the last sentence, what the later or last extent of Nimrod's kingdom was, circumstances that have led to the attempt by modern translators to interpret "and he (= Nimrod) went to Ashur and built Nineveh. . . ." But this rendering certainly is not warranted by the present text. To me it seems quite probable that the ill-fitting Ashur was originally a marginal note which called attention to the fact that the cities built by Nimrod were situated in the land later called Ashur, the text originally reading (with omission of the unidentifiable statements): "(But) from this land (= Shinar) he (= Nimrod) went out and built Nineveh and Calah." Since Nimrod (Nimrōd) must refer to some people occupying Babylonia and Assyria, that name would best be considered as corrupted from Mardu (= ʾardu), as I proposed years ago<sup>16</sup> to read MAR-TU (= *mar-dú*), the well-known name of the Arabs in the Sumerian inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> No matter, however, whether in the

<sup>14</sup> Hebrew text: "this one."

<sup>15</sup> I omit the variants referring to Nimrod as a *gibbôr-šaiq*.

<sup>16</sup> In a still unpublished treatise on "Martu and Amurru in the Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament."

<sup>17</sup> The reason for this reading of MAR-TU as well as for the assumed initial *u* was the fact that these assumptions lead to a plausible etymology for the Akkadian *yardum*, "slave," Sumerian *urda*, *arad*, *eri(d)*, etc. Originally it meant simply "Arab" but became the word for "slave," "servant," because the slaves of the earliest Sumerians (or their predecessors presumably) were almost exclusively of MAR-TU nationality. Cf. the similar etymology of German "Sklave" and English "slave" from the Latin ethnicon *Sclavus*, late Greek *Sklavos*, English "Slav," German "Slave." Note, furthermore, that the original pronunciation *yardu* of the MAR-TU of the cuneiform inscriptions makes it possible to identify this people with the prediluvian Seth people *Iared* (< ʾardum) of Gen. 5:15-20 (P), which in Jahwistic tradition, Gen. 4:18, appears as Cain people ʾirād. This need not necessarily be a "corruption" of *Iared*, since ʾirad (> ʾirad > ʾirad) with 'instead of' prostheticum might well have developed from ʾur(.)dum, owing to a change of stress.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the mystery surrounding Calneh (Kalnē) might easily be solved by the assumption that by the mistake of a copyist a *yāy* has been omitted between *nān* and *hē* and that the original text had *yēkol-nāyā* ("and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Akkad), and every pasture ground in the

passage quoted above the subject of "he went" is Nimrod or Ashur, in either case the passage makes no reference to the building of the city of Ashur. It is quite possible that the passage in Genesis is based on a good tradition reflecting the fact that in the period of the invasion and the following occupancy of Babylonia and Assyria by the Mardu (which only in a much later period was followed by an invasion of the Amurru, the biblical Amorites) the city of Aššūr had not yet come into existence.

3. In order to broaden the foundation for these combinations, it might be advantageous to recall that Sumerian GIR-ŠI<sup>18</sup> and GIR-GIR,<sup>19</sup> to be read *ti-id-nu*<sup>20</sup> *ti-di-[nu]*,<sup>21</sup> are rendered with *a-mur-ru-u*, "Amurrian," "Amorite," and similarly *ku-r-GIR-GIR*<sup>22</sup> with *māt a-mur-ri-e*. Note, furthermore, that the fourth year of Šu-Sin of Ur is dated with the formula *š u-š i n-l u g a l-u r i k i-m a-g é b á d-m a r-d ú-m u-r i-i q-t i-i d-n i-i m m u-d ú*, "year (called): Šu-Sin, king of Ur, built (the fortress) Dūr-Amurrim-murīq-Tidnim, i.e., Dūr-Amurrim, which holds the Tidnu people at a distance." Finally we read in Gudea, Statue B, column 6, lines 13 ff., that the *iššakku* procured marble blocks from *ti-da-num-ḫ u r-s a g-m a r-d ú*, "Tidanum, a mountain district of Amurru." It has been suggested long ago that this Tidnu(m) or Tidanum (Tidinu) is identical with the biblical Dēdān, in which case we might, of course, transliterate Dī-da-num and Dī-id-ni-im in the Gudea and Šu-Sin passages mentioned above. Such an identity, though to date not conclusively provable, would be quite possible, even though in the syllabaries we must necessarily read *ti-id-nu* and *ti-di-nu*, since in the period from which the transmitted redactions of these syllabaries date the sign *ti* no longer had the value *d i*. The old writing may, however, have been kept in the syllabaries because perhaps it was believed to represent the Sumerian pronunciation of the name.<sup>23</sup>

land of Shinar (= Sumer and Akkad)." The MAR-TU Arabs that took possession of parts of Babylonia, of course, came there as nomads. For *nāyā* as "nomad settlement" see Gesenius-Buhl (14th ed.), pp. 485 f.

<sup>18</sup> CT XI, 26: K 7689, l. 15 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>19</sup> CT XI, 27, col. 3, l. 15 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>20</sup> CT XI, 26: K 7689, l. 15; *ti-id-[nu]*, CT XI, 27, col. 3, l. 15.

<sup>21</sup> CT XI, 26: K 93031, l. 6 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>22</sup> 2 R 50:4337, col. 3, l. 59.

<sup>23</sup> No great difficulty would arise from the elision of the *a* in the second syllable of Sumerian and Akkadian Tid(a)nu(m), which, of course, would presuppose a form Dīdānum,

In case the proposed identification is correct, the Gudea passage and the Šu-Sin date formula would show that at the time of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur the Dedan people, of which the Ashurim, according to Genesis, chapter 25, formed a section or with which they were at least associated by the Hebrews, not only are within the horizon of Babylonia but even menace the boundaries of the territorial possessions of the kingdom of Ur.

Of great importance for the problem with which we are here concerned are, of course, any hints concerning the age of the city of Aššūr or its names which we can gather from inscriptions. The earliest accurately datable mention of the city of Aššūr occurs in the inscription on a votive slab<sup>24</sup> found at Qal'at-Šergat in which Zariqum, šakanakku of <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sup>ki</sup>, states that for the life of AMAR-Sin, king of Ur, and for his own life he built the temple of <sup>d</sup>Belat-ekallim (at Aššūr). The fact that a military commander of AMAR-Sin, the third king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, was stationed at Aššūr, indicates that at that time the city was of considerable political and military importance, while the fact that the city name is written <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sup>ki</sup>, i.e., with the god-sign before Aššūr, vividly reflects the fact that the city had grown out of a sanctuary of the god Aššūr. In the light of the new information gained from the Khorsabad king list, the existence of the city Aššūr at that time appears in no way remarkable, for if we sum up merely the generations—not the reigns—attested in the king list before Ilu-šumma, who is the contemporary of Suabu of Babylon (and Sumu-il of Larsa), and furthermore count only twenty years for a single generation, the beginning of the reign of Ušpia, the last ruler but one of the first group, whom inscriptions of later kings mention as the builder of a temple of Aššūr at Aššūr,<sup>25</sup> would fall into a time more than a century

with both vowels short and the stress on the first syllable, while the <sup>š</sup>u<sup>d</sup> of the first syllable and the length of the vowel in the second syllable of Hebrew Dēdān would perhaps point to a foreign form Didānu, with stressed long vowel in the second syllable. It may be assumed that under the influence of names like Zimrān, Ioqšān, Midjān, Ioqšān, etc., where the <sup>ā</sup>n is the formative element -<sup>ā</sup>n, a more original Dēdān changed to Dēdān. The different stressing presents no difficulty, of course, since the various languages here follow their own tendencies. Cf. Hebrew <sup>bārāq</sup> (< <sup>bāraqum</sup>), Aramaic <sup>bārāq</sup>, Akkadian <sup>birqu</sup>; Hebrew <sup>Bēnē-bārāq</sup>, Assyrian Banai-barqa, modern Arabic Ibn-ibrāq; Akkadian Gublu and Gubla, Greek Byblos, Hebrew Gēbāl; Akkadian Mār(u)duk, Hebrew Mērōdāk (< Marūduk).

<sup>24</sup> KAH I, No. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Sulmānu-ašarēd I, KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 32 ff.: <sup>22</sup>bi<sup>2</sup> aš-šur belī-ia šā ūš-pi-a <sup>23</sup>šangu aš-šur a-bi i-na pa-na <sup>24</sup>e-pu-šu, and Aššur-aḫa-iddina, KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 12 ff.: <sup>12</sup>... bi<sup>1</sup> aš-šur <sup>13</sup>maḥ-ru-u ša ūš-pi-a <sup>14</sup>a-bi šangu <sup>15</sup>aš-šur <sup>16</sup>ina pa-ni e-pu-šū.

before AMAR-Sin's reign and still at least a quarter of a century before Zu(r)-Nammu, the first king of the dynasty of Ur.<sup>26</sup>

Actually we are led into a still earlier period by the inscription on a similar votive slab from Assur<sup>27</sup> reading: <sup>1</sup>I-ti-ti <sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>klum <sup>3</sup>DUMU<sup>28</sup> <sup>4</sup>I-nin-la-ba<sup>29</sup> <sup>5</sup>in ša<sup>10</sup>-la-ti <sup>6</sup>GA-SUR<sup>11</sup> <sup>7</sup>ki<sup>30</sup> <sup>8</sup>a-na <sup>9</sup>Innin <sup>10</sup>A-MU-RU, "Ititi, the ya<sup>2</sup>klum, son of Inninlaba, dedicated to Innin (Ištar) (this object) out of the booty (made in the city) of GA-SUR." The forms of the signs <sup>u</sup>slan, <sup>n</sup>nin, <sup>m</sup>mu, and <sup>r</sup>ru are more archaic than the corresponding signs in Gudea's inscription and agree with those of the dynasty of Akkad and even older periods, though other signs on the whole would point to a somewhat later time, perhaps the time immediately after the Akkad period. Similarly, language and orthography agree with that of the Akkad period. Especially, however, it may be noted that the Ititi inscription not only in its language, in its orthography, and in the forms of certain signs, but even in its proper names shows the closest affinity with the Old Akkadian tablet material from Nuzi published by Meek in HSS X. Note that the personal name I-ti-ti occurs on five Nuzi tablets,<sup>31</sup> and the personal name I-nin-la-ba once in No. 211, line 15 (as father of an I-ku<sup>8</sup>-ša<sup>12</sup>-lim). The city of GA-SUR<sup>ki</sup> is mentioned on nineteen tablets, and on one of them (No. 57, l. 8) it is written GA-SUR<sup>11</sup> (i.e., with the simple SAG sign), as in the Ititi inscription from

<sup>26</sup> A seal impression of I-zi-<sup>d</sup>Dagan | šakanak Ma-rī | warad MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan, Andrae, AITA, p. 103, Fig. b, cannot be used for exact dating, since the time of MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>Dagan himself cannot yet be established with chronological exactness.

<sup>27</sup> Andrae, AITA, p. 53; Schroeder, KAH I, No. 1.

<sup>28</sup> On the forms of Old Assyrian <sup>me</sup>rum (<sup>mar</sup>um) "child," "son," see Gelb, IAV (= OIP XXVII), pp. 21 ff. Professor Gelb points out that the nominative and accusative form <sup>me</sup>ra-šu (< <sup>mar</sup>šū), "his child, his son," to be contrasted with the genitive form <sup>me</sup>er-i-šu (< <sup>mar</sup>i-šu, "of his son," suggest <sup>me</sup>ra (< <sup>mar</sup>a?) as the usual construct form ("son of . . ."), but notice that in texts which form, e.g., the genitive plural or dual as <sup>ma</sup>-re (< <sup>mar</sup>ē)—so, e.g., IAV, No. 56, ll. 58 f.—the construct of the singular might be expected to be <sup>ma</sup>ra or perhaps even <sup>mar</sup> (<sup>mar</sup>), rather than <sup>me</sup>ra? As regards Old Akkadian, the language of the Ititi inscription, all evidence for an accurate reading of the ideogram DUMU is still missing.

<sup>29</sup> To date the name has been read I<sup>a</sup>-ku-la-ba. The wedge combination read as <sup>ku</sup>, however, shows the form of the sign <sup>t</sup>ug, <sup>eg</sup>i, etc., and not that of the sign <sup>ku</sup>. Moreover, the wedge group read as <sup>a</sup> (in <sup>ia</sup>) is totally different from the <sup>a</sup> in ll. 6 and 8. Finally, in the interior of this group of three wedges read as <sup>a</sup> there is visible another horizontal wedge, which makes the sign a MUNUS (= <sup>sal</sup>). This, together with the following <sup>r</sup>ga, forms the sign <sup>n</sup>in (= MUNUS-<sup>eg</sup>i), best recognizable in Andrae's copy. The occurrence of the same name In-nin-la-ba with a completely unmistakable <sup>n</sup>in in Meek's Nuzi texts (see above) removes any doubt concerning the signs composing the name.

<sup>30</sup> Sign <sup>sur</sup>11 = SAG.

<sup>31</sup> Nos. 143, l. 16; 154, col. 2, l. 4; 155, col. 5, l. 6; 175, col. 3, l. 4; and 153, col. 3, l. 24 (in the last passage a man from I<sup>a</sup>-ma-zi<sup>ki</sup>).

Assur. Especially important for our present purposes, however, is the fact that the city of A-šur<sup>k1</sup> itself is mentioned on seven of the Nuzi tablets.<sup>32</sup> Judging from the forms of the signs, the appearance of the tablets, etc., the group of Nuzi tablets that corresponds to the Ititi inscription belongs to the time of the Akkad dynasty. At that time, therefore, the city of Aššūr already bore this name. This date, indeed, would seem to be supported, or at least not contradicted, by a calculation of the possible date of Tudia, the first of the rulers mentioned in the list. We have seen that Ušpia should have reigned *at least* a quarter of a century before Zu(r)-Nammu, i.e., in the time of the last Qutean kings. If we now assume that the fifteen nomad rulers before Ušpia ruled about 150 years, i.e., on an average 10 years each, and if we further assume—as the most unfavorable case for our calculation—that the dynasties of Akkad, Uruk IV, and Qutium were strictly consecutive, Tudia would be at least a contemporary of Dudu, the last king but one of Akkad. But if, as is very likely, the kings of the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk ruled contemporaneously with the successors of Šar-kali-šarrē of Akkad, Tudia would be a contemporary of that fifth king of Akkad. If, furthermore, also the first Qutean kings were contemporaries of the successors of Šar-kali-šarrē, the date of Tudia would fall already in the reign of Narām-Sin, fourth king of Akkad. But we have based our calculations concerning the presumable length of the reigns of the first group of Aššūr rulers on rather reasonable, i.e., intentionally low, figures, representing probably a minimum. Any increase in the presumable figures for the regnal years or generations will, of course, place the presumable time of Tudia even further back. It must also be realized that in the absence to date of any pertinent information we cannot be absolutely certain that Tudia actually, as it would appear from the king list, was the first ruler of the Aššūr tribe after it took possession of the site of future Aššūr. For the fact that the compilers of the king list begin with that ruler might be owing simply to the fact that he was the earliest one to whom their sources reached back, while the nomad rulers before Tudia were forgotten. Nor can we, as long as we have no certain information on the origin of the first section of the list, be absolutely sure that the nomad leaders enumerated in it actually, as it would appear from the king list, repre-

<sup>32</sup> Nos. 36, col. 6, l. 2; 37, col. 1, l. 3; 151, col. 1, l. 11; 153, col. 10, l. 2; 154, col. 1, l. 11; 160, col. 4, l. 5; 169, l. 15.

sent an uninterrupted line of rulers. For example, in case their names were gathered from old tales or songs handed down by word of mouth—a possibility with which we may have to reckon—it would be possible that the list reproduced in the king list comprised only the famous leaders of the tribe, while those whose reigns were not filled with stirring enterprises that could inspire the poets were forgotten by the generations following them. In such a case the date of Tudia would naturally be moved into a period more or less earlier than that to which our calculations based merely on the king-list names would safely lead us.<sup>33</sup> That in the period of the dynasty of Akkad a settlement existed on the site of Assur is indicated also by a small clay tablet and a stone document recording a purchase (both found at Assur) whose writing unmistakably shows that they belong to that period—provided, of course, that Forrer's statement (in RIA I, p. 230b) concerning this point is correct. Like the Ititi inscription, however, these tablets do not mention the city of Aššūr.<sup>34</sup>

That the site of Aššūr bore a city even before the dynasty of Akkad is shown by Andrae's excavation of the Ištar temple area. The lowest layers, underneath which Andrae found only virgin soil or the rock of the hill, are those designated by him as G and H (the latter is the lower of the two). Layer G contains debris with traces of a big conflagration. This as well as the fact that the floor of the then existing Ištar temple was strewn with broken statues and cult objects unmistakably indicates that the temple and presumably the whole city had

<sup>33</sup> I wish to emphasize that with these purely methodical deliberations it is in no way proved that the list cannot be based on perfectly good historical tradition. As matters stand, i.e., as long as we have no contradictory evidence, from the standpoint of method it is, of course, advisable first to try to utilize only the data actually given in the king list.

<sup>34</sup> To be sure, it might perhaps seem a little improbable that a new city named Aššūr should have sprung into existence in such a comparatively short time after the presumable reign of the first ruler of the Aššūr tribe, if it is understood that the first occupation of the city site took place in his reign. That would, however, be in no way impossible, for when the domicile of the tribal god was permanently established at the site of later Aššūr and his sanctuary became the recognized center of the tribe, a settlement—at first, of course, small, around the sanctuary and probably at first belonging to the sanctuary—would at once have sprung up, and, furthermore, the leader of the tribe will, of course, at once have done what he could to fortify not only the sanctuary but also its dependencies and the approaches to it west and south of the city. Actually, however, we have to date no indications whatever that the place mentioned in the Nuzi texts as A-šur<sup>k1</sup> was anything but a small town that doubtless could have developed within a very short time. (Meek, HSS X, Nos. 36, col. 1, ll. 1 f.; 151, col. 1, ll. 10 f.; 153, col. 10, ll. 1 f.; and 154, col. 4, l. 5, mention a man named A-šu-ṭāb from A-šur<sup>k1</sup> at Nuzi. Nos. 160 and 169 have a note at the end of the tablet inscription that certain men received grain, beer, fat of a swine, etc., at A-šur<sup>k1</sup>.)

been burnt down by an enemy who stormed the city. After that catastrophe the place to all appearances remained uninhabited for some time, during which the upper layers of sun-dried bricks of the building walls crumbled until the debris covered the whole temple area.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately the statues found in the temple remains bear no inscriptions which might have made it possible to determine the accurate age of Layers G and H.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, a mere glance at the "Zottenrock" worn by the men of Layer G—they wear it around the lower part of the body, leaving the upper part unclothed<sup>37</sup>—shows that these people lived in the same period as, for example, Lugal-da-lu of Adab and Zu(r)-Nanše and E-anna-tum of Lagaš in southern Babylonia, all of whom wear the "Zottenrock" in exactly the same fashion.<sup>38</sup> But whether the city that found its end in this catastrophe already bore the name Aššûr, we have no direct means of proving or disproving, since inscriptional finds from which this might be established are not at hand, and especially since the results of the excavations at the Aššûr temple site from which we might perhaps learn whether or not a temple of Aššûr existed there already in the G and H periods have not yet been published. This much, however, may be said: that to date it seems more satisfactory to assume that it was only after the destruction of that old city and perhaps, as hinted above, only after some time during which the city remained uninhabited that the Aššûr tribe took possession of its site, at least for the purpose of a new settlement there. For in this case we would have the possibility of considering ʾUdîa, in accordance with the king list, as the first ruler connected with the city Aššûr, or rather with the Aššûr sanctuary established in the northeastern corner of later Aššûr, without having to

<sup>35</sup> As far as the period is concerned, Layer G therefore actually represents only the end of the period represented by Layer H.

<sup>36</sup> Andrae's assumption (AITA, p. 9) that the adding of explanatory inscriptions to a statue was a prerogative of great rulers, while the smaller princes were forced to content themselves with the making and setting-up of statues without inscriptions (cf. also p. 23 in the discussion of an inscriptionless statue of the E period: "Das Inschriftlose deutet vielleicht gerade auf das Vasallentum, wenn es überhaupt dem Vasallen erlaubt war, sein Standbild aufzustellen") is, of course, wrong, and no argument for the dependency of Assyria upon Babylonia, etc., can be drawn from it. All a vassal would have had to do if he felt inclined to hint at his dependency upon another ruler was to make use in his inscription of the well-known formula: "for the life of X, king of Y."

<sup>37</sup> AITA, Pls. 30 and 32.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the plate illustrations 9, 11, 22, and 54 in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. I. The same "Zottenrock"—the artist, however, indicates only two rows of "Zotten"—is worn by an archaic ruler of Mari (Meissner, *op. cit.*, plate illustration No. 21) belonging to that period.

resort to the hypothetical assumption of wholly unknown additional rulers before ʾUdîa. Moreover, the previous destruction of the old city would be a good explanation for the occupation of its site by a nomad tribe and the establishment of a sanctuary of their tribal deity there. At any rate, what to date has been excavated below Layer G—practically only Layer H—does not seem to indicate any similarly favorable occasion for the occupation of the place by a nomad tribe.

The opinion just expressed receives additional support from the fact that in the inscriptions the city of Aššûr is frequently mentioned as BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. In point of fact, the geographical explanatory text 5 R 12, No. 6, of which we here quote, as sufficient for our purposes, only the following first four lines:

|                                      |    |             |
|--------------------------------------|----|-------------|
| <sup>1</sup> aš-šur <sup>ki</sup>    | šU | šĀ-URU      |
| <sup>2</sup> BAL-BAD <sup>ki</sup>   |    | šĀ-URU      |
| <sup>3</sup> si-mur-ra <sup>ki</sup> |    | zap-pan     |
| <sup>4</sup> sirara <sup>ki39</sup>  | šU | me-e-ṭur-ni |

gives us three names for the city, namely, Aššûr, BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, and šĀ-URU, while the corresponding lines of the similar text KAVI, No. 183, obv., lines 17–19:

|          |                        |    |                               |
|----------|------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| si-ra-ra | sirara <sup>ki40</sup> | šU | šĀmê <sup>41</sup> -ṭur-il(?) |
|          | si-ūr-ru <sup>ki</sup> | šU | šĀza-pan                      |
|          | BAL-BAD <sup>ki</sup>  | šU | šĀšĀ-URU                      |

omitting the common Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>, gives the two names BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> and šĀšĀ-URU. For a better understanding of what these texts tell us it may be pointed out that the first of the three columns that are identical in both texts, i.e., the first column of the 5 R text and the second column of the Assur text, lists certain cities under the names borne by them in a former period, while the last of the identical columns names the same cities under the names in use at the time when the list was drawn up, i.e., under the names by which the cities were known in the latest Assyrian periods. Thus the last two lines of the above quotations reveal that the two cities known in the old period as Simurru and Sirara in the late Assyrian periods bore the names Zappan and Mê-ṭurni (Mê-Ṭurnat, etc.), while the first two lines of the 5 R text tell us that the city formerly known as Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> or BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, respectively, in

<sup>39</sup> I.e., Thureau-Dangin's *sirard*.

<sup>40</sup> Thureau-Dangin's *sirdra*.

<sup>41</sup> A-MEŠ.

the latest period was called ŠA-URU, i.e., Lib-āli (Libbu-āli, Libbi-āli, etc.),<sup>42</sup> a name found quite frequently in late inscriptions—so, e.g., also in the colophon of the Khorsabad king list in the title, *amēlu šā-kin* <sup>āli</sup> Libbi-āli, of the *limmu* official Adad-EN-GIN.

The functions of the middle column of 5 R 12, No. 6 (= third column of KAVI, No. 183), will be readily understood when one disregards the last columns in both texts, i.e., those which give the late name of the city listed in the first or second column. For, by so doing, it will at once be apparent that 5 R 12, No. 6, represents or imitates a Sumero-Akkadian "vocabulary," with column 1 as its Sumerian and column 2 as its Akkadian column, while KAVI, No. 183, represents a so-called three-column syllabary with column 2 (its middle one) representing the Sumerian column, column 3 representing the Akkadian column, and column 1, like the first column of the syllabaries, giving a phonetic rendering of the "ideogram" of the Sumerian column. In many instances the "Akkadian" column of the two texts actually gives the Akkadian translation of a Sumerian city named in the Sumerian column, but naturally only in case such a translated name had been used by the Akkadians of the older periods, while in those cases where also the Sumerian name was used in Akkadian, the Akkadian column indicates this fact, in accordance with the well-known custom of the vocabularies and syllabaries, by the word *šuma*, "the same (name)," here, as usually, expressed by the abbreviation *šu*, i.e., *šu(-ma)*. In cases where the old name of the city was Akkadian or of foreign origin but thoroughly Akkadianized, this name too is placed in the "Sumerian" column, which is recognized as the proper column for the word to be explained; in such a case 5 R 12, No. 6 + 2 R 52, No. 2, leaves the "Akkadian" column blank, while KAVI, No. 183, which

<sup>42</sup> To date we have in the inscriptions no direct statement on the reading of the signs *ša* and *uru* as components of the city name *ša-uru*, but this very fact can be taken as an indication that the two signs have to be read as they were read anywhere else in the Assyrian inscriptions, i.e., as *lib*, *libbu*, or *libbi*, and as *du*, the whole name therefore being Lib-āli, Libbi-āli, etc., "heart of the city." This is corroborated by the fact that in the letter KAVI, No. 168, l. 6, where we read . . . *i-na* <sup>āli</sup> Lib-bi-āli, the first component of the name is written *lib-bi*. Very difficult to answer, however, is the question why a name meaning "heart of the city" replaced the old name Aššūr. "Heart of the city" would be a good designation for what we would call "the inner city" or "the innermost part of the city," "the center of the city," but it might perhaps have been understood as "the city nucleus," i.e., as designation of the old part of the city, which because it contained the temples and palaces was the most important part of the later, greatly extended city and therefore became the name of the whole city. Or should we assume that the name developed from the expressions (*ina*) *libbi āli*, "in the city," *ana libbi āli*, "into the city," etc., similarly as the name Stambul for the older Konstantinopolis developed from *eis ten polin*, "into the city"?

lists no older Akkadian names, also in the case of Akkadianized names of foreign origin has a *šu(-ma)* in its "Akkadian" column.

According to these rules, it would seem to follow from the first lines of 5 R 12, No. 6—provided, of course, the copy is correct—that Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> was a Sumerian name, while BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> represented an early Akkadian or Akkadianized name. This, however, would seem rather strange in the light of our previous deductions. Moreover, the name BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, however one might try to read it, looks neither Akkadian nor Akkadianized. To be sure, the name BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is known to date only from comparatively late texts, but this certainly is no proof that it is a late invention, for in the later centuries of the Assyrian empire, when historical researches began to flourish, kings as well as scholars were fond of using almost forgotten early geographical names, and it may be, or rather it seems very probable, that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is such an old name revived in the later centuries. Note especially that Aššūr-aḥa-iddina<sup>43</sup> and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn,<sup>44</sup> after having traced their origin to King Bēl-bāni, son of Adasi, call Bēl-bāni a *pir<sup>u</sup>* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, which if it meant simply "a descendant of (the city of) Aššūr" would make no sense, but if it means "a descendant of (the pre-Aššūr city of) BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>" would trace the origin of the royal family as far back as the Sumerian period to which Lugal-da-lu, Zu(r)-Nanše, and Eannatum belonged.<sup>45</sup> Note also that Aššūr-aḥa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, wherever they refer to Bēl-bāni, call him king of Aššūr, not king of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, while whenever the old descendancy from a city is referred to, the city is always BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. Similarly, Šarru-kin II in his report on his eighth campaign (l. 113) calls himself *zēr* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. Note, finally, that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in his bilingual inscription (5 R 62, No. 2) uses BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in the Sumerian column, alongside the Sumerian names Ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup> and Tin-tir<sup>ki</sup> for Babylon and UD-KIB-NUN<sup>ki</sup> for Sippar, while in the Akkadian version he refers to the last three cities as Ba-bi-lu, Šu-bat-ba-la-tu, and Si-ip-par. This fact shows that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> was considered to be, if not a Sumerian, at least a Sumerian-

<sup>43</sup> Nies and Keiser, HRETA, No. 28, l. 38 (duplicate: B.M. 81-6-7, 209 = Meissner and Rost, BA III, 353, l. 31).

<sup>44</sup> Lehmann, *Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*, Pls. VIII ff. (A.H. 82, 7-14), l. 23.

<sup>45</sup> Probably a more direct proof would be available if we were able to interpret correctly the words *ki-šit-ti qa-a-ti ša du-rug(?)*-šū BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in Meissner and Rost, op. cit., pp. 299 ff., which to all appearances form an apposition to the preceding *Bēl-[ba-ni] šar mdti Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>* (cf. also *zēr šarru-ū-tu ki-šit-ti qa-a-ti* immediately after *pir<sup>u</sup>* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> *šu-qu-ru* in HRETA, No. 28, l. 31).

ized name that could be used in Sumerian inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> This, moreover, is clearly indicated by the equation BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> | šu in KAVI, No. 183, which designates BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> as the Sumerian as well as the Akkadian name of the city. Summing up, then, we may state that all our evidence outside 5 R 12, No. 6, seems to favor the assumption that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> was a name used in the Sumerian periods and therefore probably was the name of the city that existed at Qal'at Šergat before the city of Aššūr sprang up there.

On the basis of these observations it would appear that in 5R 12, No. 6, the šu is only erroneously placed after Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> in line 1, instead of after BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in line 2. Since KAVI, No. 153, does not have the equation Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> = <sup>lib</sup>Libbi-āli, this equation evidently is a later interpolation and as such should, of course, have its place after the equation BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> | šu | Libbi-āli. Now it will be observed that 5 R 12, No. 6, lines 2-8, enumerates the cities in reverse order as compared with KAVI, No. 183, lines 14-19, and that by reversing the order of 5 R 12, No. 6, lines 2-8—this for the purpose of adapting the sequence of the equations to that of KAVI, No. 183—Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> would actually follow BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. If we now assume that KAVI, No. 183, has preserved the original order and that also the text from which the compiler of 5 R 12, No. 6, took the equations of Libbi-āli with Aššūr and BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> had that original order, the explanation of the misplaced šu would be simply this, that the compiler of 5 R 12, No. 6, when reversing the original order of the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> and Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> equations, simply forgot to change also the position of the šu in the "Akkadian" column of that prototype, this šu therefore incorrectly referring now to Aššūr instead of to BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately we are not yet in a position to establish beyond any doubt the correct reading of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, although a hint to that effect may perhaps be given in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šuma-

<sup>46</sup> In the passage just quoted BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is, of course, used as a name for the late city of Aššūr, exactly as in the colophon of our king list and in the colophons of many other inscriptions.

<sup>47</sup> Apparently also the unmodified Tir-ga-an<sup>ki</sup> (Tir-qa-an<sup>ki</sup>), which in 5 R 12, No. 6, precedes but in KAVI, No. 183, follows the two modified cities of that name, is a later insertion. KAVI, No. 183, in that it places this Tir-qa-an at the end of the group, apparently again has the original text. This may perhaps be true also of its equation of this Tirgan with Širqu, since we know from Šamši-Adad I's inscription ZA, XXI, 247 ff., that this city at his time bore the name Tir-qa<sup>ki</sup>. The equation with Ša-Bu-la-la in 5 R 12, No. 6, and the apparent confusion in all other Tirgan equations may at least in part again be due to the reversion of the original order.

ukin<sup>48</sup> by its rendering of the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> of its Sumerian column with BAL-KI in its Akkadian column. As shown by the rendition of Ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>, Tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>, and Zimbira<sup>ki</sup> with Ba-bi-lu, Šu-bat-ba-la-tu, and Si-ip-par, the author of the inscription makes it a rule not only to render the Sumerian place-names in the Akkadian version with their Akkadian equivalents<sup>49</sup> but also to write them with purely phonetic characters such as were employed in the Akkadian system of writing of his time. Moreover, although in the Sumerian version the scribe never fails to add the place determinative *ki* after the names, in the Akkadian version he never uses it.<sup>50</sup> Now, the BAL-KI with which he renders the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> of the Sumerian version is commonly thought to be a mistake for BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, but, plausible as this emendation seems to be, it would not conform to the rule that the Akkadian text does not use the determinative *ki*. Everything, however, would be in order if *bal-ki* could be explained as a phonetic rendering of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. This, of course, would mean that the sign transliterated as BAD should be read *ki*. However, such a phonetic value or even a similar one for the sign BAD is not known, but one might perhaps think of the phonetic value *kir*, with which according to Zimolong, Ass. 523, column 2, line 35, the sign IDIM as Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *irkalla*, "nether world,"<sup>51</sup> is to be read and for which one can unquestioningly assume a shorter value *ki*. But whether the second sign of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is the sign IDIM instead of BAD—the two signs are no longer distinguished in the late periods—is a question that could be answered only on the basis of additional evidence.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> 5 R 62, No. 2.

<sup>49</sup> To be more specific, with the names listed in the "Akkadian" column of the geographical texts discussed above.

<sup>50</sup> In addition to the examples already mentioned, cf. also Am-na-nu<sup>ki</sup> and Ki-in-gi-U<sup>ki</sup>-ra in the Sumerian column but Am-na-nu and māt Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i in the Akkadian column.

<sup>51</sup> Although in CT XXV, S: K 4349, etc., ll. 10 f.:

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| d am-ma KUR | d[ir]-gi-tum |
| d am-ma KUR | d[ir]-kal-la |

<sup>52</sup> *kur* according to the gloss(!) is to be read *amma*, one may, nevertheless, note the close connection between *kur* = *šadū*, etc., and *kir* = *irkalla*.

<sup>52</sup> From Meek, HSS X, No. 177, which in ll. 4 f. has the entry: "15 . . . pigs in šu-ba-la-ba-ad/t," one cannot draw any conclusions (at least not directly) concerning a reading *ba-la-ba-ad/t* for BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, since the phrase apparently means "in Šu-Balabad/t," i.e., "in (the village or town) of (a person by the name of) Balabad/t." Nor is there any evidence for a reading Bala-sumun<sup>ki</sup>, "the old district, city or mansion," although BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in some inscriptions evidently is used as a name for the old part of Aššūr.

## III. THE SECOND GROUP OF KINGS

The second group of kings enumerated in column 1, lines 11-20, consists of the following:

|                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 26. Aminu       | mār Ilu-kabkabi |
| 25. Ilu-kabkabi | mār Iazkur-ilu  |
| 24. Iazkur-ilu  | mār Iakmeni     |
| 23. Iakmeni     | mār Iakmesi     |
| 22. Iakmesi     | mār Ilu-Mer     |
| 21. Ilu-Mer     | mār Hajāni      |
| 20. Hajāni      | mār Samāni      |
| 19. Samanu      | mār Halē        |
| 18. Halē        | mār Apiašal     |
| 17. Apiašal     | mār Ušpia       |

A strange feature of this list is that it enumerates the kings in reverse order, as is evident from the fact that Aminu, the king whom the list places at the head of the group, is—according to the statements in the right half-column—the son of the king in the second line, the grandson of the king in the third line, and the ninth descendant of Apiašal, the king mentioned nine lines below that referring to Aminu himself. Furthermore, this Apiašal, who is here designated as the son of Ušpia, is, of course, identical with the Apiašal, the last king of the first group, whose predecessor there is stated to have been Ušpia. Similarly, Aminu, the first in the enumeration of the kings of this group, in reality, however, the last king of the group, is identical with Aminu, the father of Sulili, who, as we shall see, is the first king of the third group. The peculiar manner of enumerating the rulers of the second group gives us a most welcome hint concerning the historical source for this portion of the Assyrian king list. For the arrangement will at once be recognized as being identical to that of the genealogical sections at the beginning of a number of inscriptions of earlier Assyrian kings, namely, of Ilušumma,<sup>53</sup> Erišum I,<sup>54</sup> Ikūnum,<sup>55</sup> Eriša-Adad I,<sup>56</sup> and Aššūr-uballiṭ I.<sup>57</sup> The tablet inscription of Aššūr-uballiṭ, KAH I, No. 27 (= IAaK, XVII, No. 3), for instance, begins as follows:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> IAaK, IV, No. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, No. 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, No. 1.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, Nos. 3-5.

<sup>58</sup> In the above transliteration the misleading division lines after ll. 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11 are omitted and division lines placed instead after ll. 2, 4, etc., as logically required. The scribe who wrote the inscription probably was misled by the usual genealogical scheme of his time, in which each new section began with *mār X*.

Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-uballiṭ šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
mār Υe-ri-ba-<sup>a</sup>adad

<sup>3</sup>Υe-ri-ba-<sup>a</sup>adad šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
mār Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-bēl-ni-še-šu

Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-bēl-ni-še-šu šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
<sup>6</sup>mār Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-ni-ra-ri

Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-ni-ra-ri šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
mār Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-rabi

<sup>9</sup>Υ<sup>a</sup>š-šur-rabi šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
mār Υ<sup>a</sup>en-lil-na-šir

Υ<sup>a</sup>en-lil-na-šir šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur  
<sup>12</sup>mār Υpuzur-<sup>a</sup>š-šur šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur

[Υ]<sup>a</sup>š-šur-uballiṭ ša-ki-in <sup>a</sup>en-lil šangu <sup>a</sup>š-šur

There can be no doubt whatever, therefore, that the list of the kings of the second group is in reality the genealogy of an Assyrian ruler, most probably that of Aminu, who heads the enumeration in our king list. Actually, therefore, the compiler of the king list in this portion of his work gives us not the results of his historical studies but the source for them. It need hardly be stressed that this fact is of the greatest importance for our conception of the scientific methods of that scholar and more generally of the historians and chronologists of his time. We must realize, of course, that the professor of history in the ancient school when teaching his class would use that genealogy as well as similar documents only as a basis for his reconstruction of the oldest history of his country and that in his oral expositions, of which we have no record, he would teach his students—similarly as we do it now—to obtain from that genealogy the actual sequence of the kings mentioned therein. He would, moreover, explain that this genealogy was the only document to throw light on the sequence of the kings of that rather obscure period of the ancient history of Assyria, but, of course, he will not have failed to connect with the kings of the genealogy wherever possible the rulers mentioned in other sources, such as, for example, certain tales transmitted by word of mouth or already noted down in writing. Finally, he probably will also have explained—ex-

actly as we shall presently at greater length—that the genealogy was not completely adequate as a historical document on which to base the reconstruction of the whole line of Assyrian rulers in that old period and that for this reason he preferred to give his students the evidence as he found it, namely, as nothing more than a genealogy instead of as a real list of rulers.

In order to elucidate the last point—the possible defectiveness of the genealogy as a basis for the reconstruction of the actual line of rulers for the time covered by that genealogy—it is necessary only to realize in what situation we would be if, for example, we had to reconstruct the line of Assyrian rulers during the period covered by the genealogy of Aššūr-uballiṭ I, just referred to, from this genealogy alone. We would, of course, have the following line of only seven kings, each of whom is, exactly as in the second group of the king list, the father of the next king:

61. Puzur-Aššūr III
62. Enlil-nāšir I
65. Aššūr-rabi I
68. Aššūr-nerari II
70. Aššūr-bēl-nišešu
72. Eriba-Adad I
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I

But the king lists and the authentic inscriptions of the kings show that during this period the following thirteen kings ruled over Assyria:

61. Puzur-Aššūr III
62. Enlil-nāšir I, son of Puzur-Aššūr III
63. Nūr-ili, son of Enlil-nāšir I
64. Aššūr-šadūni, son of Nūr-ili
65. Aššūr-rabi I, son of Enlil-nāšir I
66. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I, son of Aššūr-rabi I
67. Enlil-nāšir II, son of Aššūr-rabi I
68. Aššūr-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-rabi I
69. Aššūr-bēl-nišešu, son of Aššūr-nerāri II
70. Aššūr-rim-nišešu, son of Aššūr-rabi I
71. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē II, son of Aššūr-rim-nišešu
72. Eriba-Adad I, son of Aššūr-bēl-nišešu
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I, son of Eriba-Adad I

This list contains six kings more than Aššūr-uballiṭ's genealogy, owing, of course, to the fact that in several instances the succession to the

throne did not follow a straight line but in some cases passed from brother to brother, from nephew to uncle, or from cousin to cousin. The same may, of course, have been the case during the period from Apiašal to Aminu, not to forget the possibility that the rule of the established royal family may have been interrupted for a short interval by the reign of one or more usurpers. To be sure, theoretically it would be quite within the realm of possibility that throughout the time from Ušpia to Sulili succession to the throne actually followed an unbroken line (i.e., in all instances from father to son); but, judging from the fact that elsewhere such an unbroken line for any considerable time is rarely found,<sup>59</sup> one may, to say the least, be not too certain that in the case here discussed the straight line of succession actually extended over a period of twelve generations.

But be this as it may, the genealogy preserved by our king list at least proves the existence of a quite long-lived Ušpia dynasty in that early period of Assyrian history. For if we assume only 20 years for one generation, it would have ruled 240 years; and with each break in the line of succession the period probably would be likely to increase.<sup>60</sup>

The subscription which the compiler of the king list added at the end of the second section reads: "a total of 10 kings with (known) fathers."<sup>61</sup> The phrase "with fathers" refers, of course, to the fact that for each of these kings, since they were taken from a genealogy, the name of his father could be given. This phrase implies, moreover, that the fathers of the kings of the first group were not known to the compiler, and it is, of course, for this reason that the kings' fathers are not given by him in that group. On the other hand, although the first group of kings is characterized as having lived in tents, no statement is made as to where the kings of the second group lived. But the very omission of such an express statement indicates that it is to be understood that they resided in Aššūr, the capital of the kingdom of Aššūr, exactly as did the later kings, whose residence at Aššūr the king list

<sup>59</sup> The most famous example within the Near East for an extended direct succession is offered by the kingdom of Judah with its twelve-generation period from Joash to Jehoiachin, or even, if one disregards the interruption by the seven-year reign of Queen Athaliah, during the twenty-generation period from David to Jehoiachin. For Babylonia one may recall the ten-generation period from Sumulail of Babylon to Samsu-ditana.

<sup>60</sup> Note—for the sake of comparison—that the ten kings from Sumulail of Babylon to Samsu-ditana, who represent ten generations, ruled about 286 years. This would make an average of 28 to 29 years per generation.

<sup>61</sup> *Ša abbe-šū-nu-ni*, literally: "of whom there are fathers" (= "who have fathers").

likewise does not refer to. We have, however, every reason to assume that in the original work of the compiler the characterizing subscriptions to Group I and Group II contained also the items just referred to, i.e., that the subscription to the first group did not run merely: "a total of 17 kings who lived in tents," but "a total of 17 kings with unknown fathers and"—here we anticipate from the following chapters—"with unknown regnal years, who still lived in tents." Correspondingly, the original subscription to the second group will have run: "a total of 10 kings with known fathers, but still with unknown regnal years, who already had their permanent residence at Aššūr." Any Assyriologist who has an eye for such features knows that practically all extant cuneiform inscriptions offer their content in a much condensed form, leaving unsaid everything that, in the opinion of the writer or in the opinion of the later copyist or redactor, a reader versed in scribal customs could himself supply according to certain logical rules. The group subscriptions of our king list provide a good example for this. They suppress, for example, the negative statement that neither the fathers of a group of certain kings nor their regnal years are known, since this can be concluded from the positive statement that the fathers or regnal years of some other particular group of kings are known. For the same reason the positive predicate "who lived in tents" in the first subscription is not paralleled by a negative statement in the second subscription, "who no longer lived in tents"; and even the positive statement "but who resided in Aššūr," which we could add to that negative statement, is omitted because the reader could be expected to know himself that kings of Aššūr, unless the contrary is expressly stated, must be assumed to reside in Aššūr.

It will have been observed that King Apiašal is mentioned both in the first and in the second group, in the former as the last king, and in the latter as the first king of the group. The total number of kings in both groups is therefore not  $17 + 10 = 27$  but only 26 (= 16 + Apiašal + 9). As far as the characterization of the first group as living in tents and the inferred characterization of the second group as residing in Aššūr are concerned, this double counting does not present any difficulty, for the change from the nomadic life of the earlier rulers to a permanent residence at Aššūr can well have taken place in the course of Apiašal's reign, i.e., at the beginning of his reign this king, like his

predecessors, may still have lived in a tent, though later settling down for good in Aššūr. More disturbing seems the fact that in the first group he appears as a king without (known) father, but in the second as a king with (known) father. The solution of this difficulty evidently is that Apiašal was found by the compiler of the king list not only in the source for his first group of kings, which did not mention the fathers of the rulers, but also in his source for the second group, which, as we have seen, was the genealogy of King Aminu, reaching back to Ušpia, the father of Apiašal. Viewed from this standpoint, the double mentioning of Apiašal actually becomes a proof that not only the second section relating to the kings with fathers but also the list of nomad rulers in the first section is based on a historical source or perhaps even represents that source. It may be noted that the compiler of the king list makes no effort whatever to explain the double mentioning of Apiašal, simply trusting that the professor of history who used the king list as a basis for his class instruction, or any reader of the king list, would be able to draw the obvious conclusions himself.<sup>62</sup>

The names of the kings of the second group are definitely Semitic, though not Akkadian, as is shown by the verbal prefix *ja-* in *Iazkur-ilu*, *Iakmeni*, and *Iakmesi*. *Halû* is the contracted form of *Halijum*,<sup>63</sup> CT VIII 44a, lines 7 and 12 (about the time of Sumulail). For *Samānu* compare *Sa-ma-nu-um*, CT VI 44, line 12 (*Apil-Sin*). For *Ha(i)ānu* (*qallān* form probably of *hayy*, "to live" = *qalāl* form of the *qal* form *hayy* < *hayy*, "living")<sup>64</sup> compare *Ha-ajja-nu* of *Sam'al*, *Šulmānu-ašarêd* III, Monolith Inscription, 3 R 7 f., column 1, line 53 = *Ha-ja-a-nu*, son of *Gabbaru*, *ibid.*, column 2, line 24. For *A-mi-nu* compare

<sup>62</sup> The fact that in the second group Apiašal appears as the son of his predecessor shows that it would be rash to draw from the simple enumeration of the remaining kings of the first group the conclusion that no relationship existed between any of them. Nevertheless, since for the leadership of a nomad tribe the principle of heredity naturally plays either no role at all or a much lesser one than in a definitely localized state, most or at least some of those nomad rulers may actually not be the sons of their predecessors. Quite possibly the tendency toward localizing the seat of government in Aššūr and the tendency toward hereditariness of the ruler's office may have been parallel developments. To what extent also the fact not yet firmly established that the oldest rulers of Aššūr functioned simultaneously as high priests of the god Aššūr may have contributed to making the city of Aššūr the permanent residence of the ruler, it is still impossible to say. Note that already Ušpia is given the title *šangu* Aššūr by *Sulmānu-ašarêd* I (KAHI I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 33 f.) and Aššūr-aḫaiddina (KAHI I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 13 ff.).

<sup>63</sup> Written *Ha-li-ju-um*, with sign *IA* = *ju* and later = *ur* (see n. 67).

<sup>64</sup> At least as far as the form is concerned, *ha(i)ānu* is identical with Arabic *hayyān*, "animal."

perhaps Arabic *ʿamin*, "trustworthy." Iakmeni and Iakmesi might be either the substantivized present forms of two different verbs, *k m n* and *k m s* (both names in the genitive form), or more probably the same verbal form *īakme* with accusative suffixes *-ni*, "me," and *-si* (= *ši?*), "her."<sup>65</sup> Note that the name Ilu-kapkapu appears already in its Akkadianized form as compared with I-la-ka-ap-ka-pu-u, the name of the father of Šamši-Adad I (39) in a Mari text (RA XXXIV, 136).<sup>66</sup> With Thureau-Dangin (*ibid.*), *i-la* most likely represents *ʿilāh*, "god" (= Arabic *ʿilāh*, Hebrew *ʿēlōah*).<sup>66</sup> These Semitic names of the descendants of Ušpia make it seem very probable that the name of this king and that of his son Apiašal are likewise Semitic, although I cannot suggest a definite Semitic etymology for them.<sup>67</sup>

Of all the kings of the second group, only one had been known before from the inscriptions, namely, Ilu-kapkapu, the last king but one, whose descendant Adad-nerāri III in his stone slab inscription from Kalḫu, 1 R 35, No. 3, lines 23–27, claims to be. The inscription, to be sure, gives the name as <sup>d</sup>Illil-kap-ka-pi with <sup>d</sup>illil (<sup>d</sup>𐎶𐎵) for *ilu* (*ilā*). Possibly the scribe misunderstood *illil* for *ilu* when the passage was

<sup>65</sup> If this explanation of *-si* should turn out to be correct, it would be an indication that the Semitic idiom to which these names belong do not go with the West Semitic languages but with a group of Semitic idioms from which in some manner also Akkadian derives.

<sup>66</sup> The second sign of I-...-ka-ap-ka-pu, the name of the father of Šamši-Adad I in the latter's brick inscription from Assur, KAH I, II No. 3, l. 4, is not clear but evidently was intended for *la* too, with *lu* perhaps a possibility.

<sup>67</sup> The names of the two kings are here read as they would be read—and evidently were read—by the late Assyrians. It is possible, however, that the names were taken over by the compiler of the king list more or less in the form in which he found them written in the ancient sources used by him. In this case the old original reading of the names could, of course, differ from the manner in which they were read by the Assyrians of the late periods. E.g., it would be possible that the *pi* in Ušpia and Apiašal was pronounced *bi* and that, therefore, the first element of Apiašal was *abi*, "my father." The variant writing <sup>a</sup>A-uš-pi-a for <sup>a</sup>Uš-pi-a in several duplicates of the stone tablet inscription of Šulmānu-ašarēd (KAH I, No. 13) need by no means represent, as has been believed, either a name form <sup>a</sup>A-uš-pi-a, with an additional syllable *a* before Ušpia, or a name form Aušpia, with initial diphthong *ay*, whose position before the vowelless *š* followed by another consonant it would be difficult to explain in a name of Semitic origin, since in the Semitic languages *ay* is the equivalent of the vowel *a* plus the consonant *y*. Evidently the writing <sup>a</sup>A-uš-pi-a was found by Šulmānu-ašarēd in an old inscription in which, in accordance with the orthographical system of the time when the inscription was written, the initial *a* probably was used with the phonetic value <sup>a</sup>u, the correct transliteration of the name therefore being <sup>a</sup>U-uš-pi-a. The value <sup>a</sup>u is, of course, derived from the phonetic value <sup>a</sup>d of <sup>a</sup>, exactly as the values <sup>a</sup>u (StAG, p. 4, and *ibid.*, n. 2) and <sup>a</sup>u of <sup>a</sup> were derived from its values <sup>a</sup>a and <sup>a</sup>ia. There is even a possibility that <sup>a</sup> as well as <sup>a</sup> were used in that early system to express the syllable <sup>a</sup>u with initial <sup>a</sup>jin; cf. <sup>a</sup>re-uš-ū < <sup>a</sup>ra-āju, <sup>a</sup>ri-te-uš-ū < <sup>a</sup>ritan-ūju (*loc. cit.*). Note that, no matter whether originally initial <sup>a</sup> or initial <sup>a</sup> was intended, the writing <sup>a</sup>A-uš-pi-a (= <sup>a</sup>U-uš-pi-a, etc.) would point to the Semitic character of the name.

dictated to him. Or is what looks like 𐎶𐎵 and *kap* simply an enlarged form of *kap*, or at least intended for *kap*? That Adad-nerāri meant the ruler of the second group (and not the father of Šamši-Adad I) is made clear by the added phrase *qu-ud-mu šarru-ti* <sup>a</sup>Ša <sup>a</sup>Su-li-li, "before the kingdom of Sulili," who though being the last king of the Ušpia dynasty in the king list heads the third group of rulers.

#### IV. THE THIRD GROUP OF KINGS

The third group comprises the six kings:

27. Sulili, son of Aminu
28. Kikkia
29. Akia
30. Puzur-Aššūr I
31. Šallim-aḥḥē
32. Iluṣumma (18...–1853 B.C.)

Of these rulers, only the first, Sulili, is designated as the son of another king, namely, of Aminu, the last king of the preceding group. It seems remarkable that our list fails to state that Iluṣumma was the son of Šallim-aḥḥē and this king the son of Puzur-Aššūr I, a relationship known to us from the inscriptions of Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um,<sup>68</sup> Ilu-šuma,<sup>69</sup> I-ri-šum (Ērišum) I,<sup>70</sup> and Ikūnum.<sup>71</sup> It is evident that the early compiler of the oldest part of the king list did not know those inscriptions and therefore was ignorant of that relationship, while the later redactors of the king list, if those inscriptions had become known to them—which, however, is not likely—at least did not enlarge the old text of the king list by a statement of their own. Note that also Tukulti-Ninurta I, where he refers to Iluṣumma in his inscriptions,<sup>72</sup> does so without designating him as son of Šallim-aḫum or Šallim-aḥḥē, an indication that he too did not know of that relationship. On the other hand, however, the author of the king list does not designate the five kings after Sulili as sons of a "nobody" (i.e., as persons who became king in spite of the fact that they were not members of a royal family).

<sup>68</sup> IAaK, III, No. 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 1 (= KAH I, No. 4) and 2 (Br. Mus. Guide [3d ed.], p. 62, No. 137).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10 (= KAH I, No. 1).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, No. 3.

<sup>72</sup> KAH I, No. 48, col. 1, ll. 1 f., and the duplicate inscription No. 59, ll. 21 ff.

The compiler of the king list evidently leaves the question of relationship in the case of those five kings completely undecided, showing by this that he possessed the truly scientific ability of not overstating a case in any respect.<sup>73</sup>

The names of the last three kings of this group—Puzur-Aššûr, Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um (Šallim-aḫḫê in our list), and Ilu-šu-ma (Ilu-šum-ma)—like those of their successors in the next group are of genuinely Akkadian character, readily recognizable as such. In this regard they sharply contrast with those of the first three kings—Sulili, Kikkia, and Akia. The name Sulili, however, since its bearer belongs to the Ušpia dynasty, could be expected at least to belong to the same non-Akkadian Semitic dialect, to which, as we have seen, the names of the other members of that dynasty belonged, i.e., to the language usually referred to as West Semitic, etc. It may therefore quite well be—though it is, of course, not certain—that it is basically identical with the name of the second king of Babylon Sumulael (Sumulailu), of which it could be a rather developed form.<sup>74</sup> As regards the hypocoristic names Kikkia and Akia, no plausible explanation from a Semitic idiom can be given at present, but to conclude from that that they were “Hurrite” and their bearers foreign invaders would go beyond the limits of a safe historical reconstruction of events. Even if the two names should be of foreign origin, this would not necessarily imply that their bearers were foreign invaders. At any rate, our king list shows that they do not belong, as has been assumed, to a group of kings of foreign origin at the beginning of the history of Aššûr. Note, however, that hypocoristic names such as those of the two kings, though very frequently found among the common population, usually are not borne by the members of royal families, and it is therefore quite possible that Kikkia and Akia were commoners, the former perhaps placed on the throne of Aššûr by a revolt, which presumably put an end to the Ušpia dynasty, while Akia may have ascended the throne either as heir of Kikkia or owing to a second revolution. With regard to Puzur-Aššûr, finally, it may be noted that the genealogies of his four immedi-

<sup>73</sup> In this respect some modern scholars might perhaps learn from their Babylonian and Assyrian predecessors.

<sup>74</sup> Direct identity of the Assyrian king Su-li-li with the Babylonian king Sumulail was suggested by Hommel in OLZ, 1907, col. 485.

ate successors in no instance trace their genealogy beyond him, a fact that might be conceived as indicating that Puzur-Aššûr headed a new line of rulers placed on the throne by a third or second revolution, as the case may be. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that, probable as this and the preceding deductions are, they are, of course, not of a conclusive character, as may be illustrated by the fact that none of the three successive kings Arik-dên-ili (75), Adad-nerâri I (76), and Šulmânu-ašârêd I (77), traces his descentance beyond Aššûr-uballiṭ (73), and yet this king was not the first of a new dynasty but the son of his predecessor, Erība-Adad I (72), who again in one of his inscriptions begins his genealogy with Puzur-Aššûr III (61).

The name of the fifth king appears in his own inscription,<sup>75</sup> as well as in those of his successors Ilušu(m)ma (32)<sup>76</sup> and Êrišum (33),<sup>77</sup> as Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um,<sup>78</sup> usually conceived as meaning “the brother is well and safe.” In our king list, however, his name appears as Šal-lim-aḫḫê (= seš-meš), “let the brothers be well.” The reason for this transformation—if it actually was a real transformation—is not yet evident. The scribe may, of course, have considered *ša-lim* as an old defective writing of *šallim*, but the replacement of *a-ḫu-um*, which seems to be the singular, by *aḫḫê* seems rather strange.<sup>79</sup> Note also that

<sup>75</sup> IAaK, III, No. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10.

<sup>78</sup> The same name in the same writing borne by a n u - b a n d a of Tu-tu-ub<sup>K1</sup> occurs in the account tablet from Drehem, CT XXXII, Nos. 19 ff. (col. 1, l. 14, and col. 5, l. 34), which is dated in the second year of Ibi-Sin of Ur (ll. 1–21 of col. 1 refer to the first year), as well as on Cappadocian tablets, where it is found also in the syncopated form Šalmaḫum. As Ša-lim-a-ḫu—without mimation—it is found already in Manistušu, Obelisk, C, col. 10, l. 20 (etc.).

<sup>79</sup> Should one assume that in the damaged *limmu* list at the disposal of the king-list compiler the name was preserved only in its genitive form, Ša-lim-a-ḫi[-im], with final *im* broken off, and that the compiler conceived this Ša-lim-a-ḫi as a defective writing of Šallim-aḫḫi? The name is no longer used in the later periods, a fact which naturally could facilitate a transformation. It should, however, be taken into consideration that names of apparently Akkadian form need not always be of genuinely Akkadian origin, i.e., they may be non-Akkadian Semitic names somehow Akkadianized. If Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um as well as the likewise Assyrian (“Cappadocian”) Šal-ma-ḫu-um (cf. Šal-ma-ḫu-um-ma, KtKA Pl. 3:438, l. 3; Šal-ma-ḫi-im, CTCT IV 33:113349, l. 24), which doubtless is identical with Šallim-aḫum, should be such a name, the Akkadian case ending *-um* would, of course, have to be separated from the main part of the name, Šalim-aḫ. Salmah, which would be the form of the name in the non-Akkadian idiom (Šal-mah actually occurs in CTCT I 4, l. 24). Since the so-called West Semitic dialect in many names presents itself in a very advanced or, if one prefers, corrupted form, that name might quite well have been shortened from a more original Šallim-aḫḫê, Šallim-aḫê, etc., and it is quite possible that at the time when the name was still in use people still recalled that the proper meaning of the shortened name was “let the brothers be safe.” In this case the name given in the king list would be

the king list writes Ilu-šum-ma instead of the Ilu-šu-ma used in the king's own inscriptions as well as in those of his successor, Irišum. Like the compiler of our king list, already Šamši-Adad I<sup>80</sup> writes Ilu-šum-ma, the Ilu-šu-ma of the older inscriptions, therefore, doubtless being a defective writing of Ilušumma.

With the third group of kings we have reached already a period comparatively well attested in the inscriptions. Of Šallim-aḥḥē and Ilu-šumma we have their own inscriptions with a genealogy reaching back to Puzur-Aššūr, the fourth king of the group. Sulili and Kikkia are referred to in late inscriptions, the latter (28) in the spelling Ki-ki-a in an inscription of Aššūr-rim-nišēšu<sup>81</sup> as the earliest builder of a wall of the city of Aššūr, later repaired or restored by Ikūnum (34), Šarru-kēn I (35), Puzur-Aššūr II (36), Aššūr-nerāri I (60), and finally by Aššūr-rim-nišēšu (70) himself. Sulili (27) is found in an inscription of Adad-nerāri III (104),<sup>82</sup> who there designates himself, as mentioned already, as the descendant of "Ilu(!)-kapkapu, a king of Aššūr, (ruling) even before the kingdom of Sulili." This statement is of great interest, since it indicates implicitly that the scribes of Adad-nerāri III at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century B.C. knew the group divisions in the king list. For the purpose of the statement is to express simply the idea that the Ilu(!)-kapkapi referred to is a king ruling before the king list's third group of rulers, which is headed by Sulili. This observation shows that the group division of the king list had acquired a kind of authority with the later scribes, probably for no other reason than that the king list was a most handy compilation to consult whenever it became necessary to ascertain and to describe to others the position of an earlier king in the long line of Assyrian rulers.<sup>83</sup>

The preserved part of the subscription to this third group of kings runs: "a total of 6 kings, [who]se [...] *limmu's* are destroyed" (or

rather a restitution of the older form. I notice that also Levy in MVAeG XXXIII (1930), p. 223, n. a, explains the element *šalm* as shortened from *šallim* with the pertinent remark that the rendering, e.g., of Šāl-ma-Adad with "Adad is well" makes no sense, while "O Adad, let (the brothers, etc.) be well" would be a very appropriate meaning of the name.

<sup>80</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 1 (= KAH I, No. 2), col. 1, l. 20.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, No. 1.

<sup>82</sup> 1 R 35, No. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Note the similar observation with regard to Ērišu I on p. 282.

perhaps: [the list (etc.)] of [who]se *limmu's* is destroyed."<sup>84</sup> From it we gather the important information that there had existed *limmu* lists covering the reigns of the six kings of this group, although at the time when the king list was compiled the *limmu's* of these kings—probably in the only copy available to the compiler—were no longer preserved. The fact that the king list mentions *limmu's* for the first time in connection with the third group of kings proves, of course, that the compilers of the list did not know of any *limmu* list covering the reigns of kings prior to Sulili. In other words, this ruler was the first king for whose reign *limmu's* were known to have been gathered in a *limmu* list. It was, of course, for this reason or chiefly for this reason that the compiler of the king list separated Sulili, although he was the son of the last king of the second group, from this group and made him the first of a new group of rulers. As already stated, the object of his classification of the kings in different groups was not the distinction of certain dynasties—in this case he would have counted the kings from Ušpia to Sulili as one group—but to show on which or what kind of historical sources his list was based. We may therefore assume that the source for the third group of kings was a *limmu* list beginning with the reign of Sulili, but, as we are told in the subscription, with the *limmu's* of the first six kings destroyed in such a manner that not even the exact length of their reigns could be established with certainty. Nevertheless, the grouping of the kings according to the character of the source available for the compilation of the king list should not mislead us into the belief that the compiler as historian did not recognize or attributed no importance to the various dynasties into which the long line of Assyrian kings could be divided. For he gives all the information at his disposal concerning the relationship of the kings concerned, thereby providing the reader with the material on

<sup>84</sup> The rendering "destroyed" is very general, since the literal meaning of *la'dātu* (Hebrew *lāḥat*) is undoubtedly "to eat up," German *fressen*, *auffressen*. Compare the parallelism between *akālu* (Hebrew *ākal*) and *la'dātu* (Hebrew *lāḥat*) in CT XV 32, rev., ll. 5 f. (and Deut. 32:22), and note also *ip-te-ma pi-i-ša Ti-amāt a-na la'-a-a-ti-šu*, "Ti'amāt opened her mouth in order to devour him," Enuma eliš, Tablet IV, l. 97 (Meissner, *Ass. Stud.*, V, 42 f.). When the term is applied to the activity of the fire, the idea "to eat up," "to devour," becomes the equivalent of "to destroy," and it is not impossible that a meaning "destroyed [by fire]" is intended here. But—and in point of fact this is more likely—*la'()**uḫ* may quite as well refer to the destructive effect of acids, salts, the air, etc., upon the surface of the clay tablet; cf. in German the *ätzende* (= "eating"), or *seßfressende Wirkung* of the agents just named, the term "corrosion" (= "gnawing") in Latin, the expression "rust-eaten," etc.

which to base the grouping of those kings in various dynasties but leaving it to him to do the actual grouping.

It should, furthermore, be realized that the first mention of *limmu*'s in connection with the third group does not prove conclusively that the whole *limmu* institution originated at the time of Sulili; as said before, it proves merely that the compiler did not have at his disposal, and did not know of, any *limmu* lists for the time before Sulili. The *limmu* institution itself, of course, goes back to a much earlier period, probably to the first establishment of the Aššûr cult at Aššûr and perhaps even into the tribal period before that event, since care for the sanctuary and the cult of Aššûr, which seems to have been the basis for the *limmu* institution, naturally became a necessity when and wherever the sanctuary and the cult of that deity was established. Theoretically it is, of course, conceivable that at a later time (e.g., at the time of Sulili), a kind of reorganization or legal consolidation of the *limmu* institution took place that might have led, for instance, to the official use of the *limmu*'s for dating purposes and thus have made necessary the establishment of *limmu* lists. However, if this took place under Sulili, it would be difficult to explain how the whole reign of Sulili could be included in those lists and, if it took place under Sulili's predecessor, why that part of this king's reign which followed the reform should have been disregarded in them. At all events, a definite answer to all these questions could be given only on the basis of actually conclusive evidence to date not available.

#### V. THE PORTION OF THE KING LIST DEVOTING AN INDEPENDENT STATEMENT TO EACH KING

With the successors of Ilušumma, last king of the third group, we reach the long row of Assyrian kings concerning whom the compiler has at his disposal all three of the items of information in which he from his chronological viewpoint is primarily or almost exclusively interested, namely, the name of the king, his relation to his predecessor or predecessors, and the length of his reign. In accordance with the principles described in the introductory remarks, the list for this reason from this point on devotes a complete and independent statement to every single king except in the case of six consecutive rulers who again are treated as a group, but simply, as we shall see, in order

to avoid the continuous repetition of the same phrase indicating the length of their reigns.<sup>85</sup>

Since each statement devoted to a king forms at least one whole sentence—with subject (the king) and verbal predicate (exercised kingship for so many years)—this portion of the king list, like all older king lists that use that phrase, is actually not a list, if this term is understood to mean the mere enumeration of kings, but a chronicle, though one of a rather reduced and standardized form. Because of this chronicle character of the king list, it is in no manner remarkable that in certain cases the statement is expanded, sometimes into a whole series of sentences such as could occur without any change of its wording in an Assyrian or Babylonian chronicle of the usual type. It will be observed, however, that these occasional enlargements in no instance refer to memorable feats of the king during his reign but exclusively to such events as throw light on the circumstances under which an extraordinary change of reign took place.<sup>86</sup> Logically, therefore, these expansions belong together with the reference to the king's father, which under ordinary circumstances is a sufficient explanation of the succession to the throne of the new king. Even with those enlargements the king list therefore must still be defined as a chronicle representing a mere chronological skeleton for the various reigns and the whole period covered by the list.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> See, however, later on the basic identity of principle in all groupings.

<sup>86</sup> The older Babylonian king lists present a parallel in the remark inserted at the end of each dynasty: "The kingdom of (the city) X was overthrown and went to (the city) Y."

<sup>87</sup> A good parallel to the reduction of a chronicle or even an annalistic history to just a chronological framework as described above is found in the Books of Kings in the Old Testament. For when we disregard the many prophet stories, the ubiquitous deuteronomic evaluations of the kings of Israel and Judah, etc., the section devoted to a single king frequently is restricted to a mere statement of the relation of this king to his predecessor, the equation of his year of succession with the corresponding year of the contemporary king of the other kingdom, his age at his accession to the throne, the length of his reign, and the equation of the year of his death with a year of his contemporary in the other kingdom, while the historical events during his reign are lightly passed over with the—for historians really annoying—formula: "What else is to be said of King X and the deeds which he achieved (etc.), all that is written in the annals of the kings of Judah" (or "Israel," as the case may be).

In some respects the type of skeleton chronicle described above is reflected also in the "book of the generations of Adam," Genesis, chapter 5, and its subdivisions or continuations, the "generations of Shem," Gen. 11:10–26; (the "generations of Abraham"), Gen. 21:(1)2–5; the "generations of Isaac," Gen. 25:19 f., 26b; Gen. 35:28; the "generations of Jacob," Gen. 37:1 f., 47:27b–28; etc. Its statements being likewise in the form of complete sentences (with the verbs "and he begot," "and he died," etc.), this "book of generations," too, is a kind of chronicle, but with the exclusive aim of establishing a chronological

The section here under discussion forms the great bulk of the king list, extending from column 1, line 27, to the very end of the list in column 4, line 32, and consisting of seventy paragraphs devoted to the reigns of the seventy-five kings from Erišu I (33) to Aššûr-nerâri V (107). For the purpose of splitting up this long section into several subsections, however, we may use as demarcation points the comparatively few cases of a change of dynasty, which also in the king list readily catch the eye because of the greater length of the statement devoted to the first king of the new dynasty. But it should be understood that this division into subsections is exclusively for our own benefit; in the king list itself the subsections are in no manner indicated.

#### A. FROM ERIŠU I TO ERIŠU II

33. Erišu I, son of Ilušumma (1852-1813 B.C.)
34. Ikûnu, son of Erišu I (1812-.... B.C.)
35. Šarru-kin I, son of Ikûnu
36. Puzur-Aššûr II, son of Šarru-kin I
37. Narâm-Sîn, son of Puzur-Aššûr II
38. Erišu II, son of Narâm-Sîn (17...-1727 B.C.)

In this row each king is the son of his predecessor, including Erišu I, whose father is Ilušumma, last king of the preceding group, who in turn was preceded by his father, Šallim-aḥḥê, and his grandfather, Puzur-Aššûr I. The historian, whose interest, of course, is not centered exclusively on the source foundations of the king list as was that of the compiler of the list, would therefore quite naturally join the nine kings from Puzur-Aššûr I (30) to Erišu II (38) into a Puzur-Aššûr I dynasty instead of placing the first three at the end of his third group of rulers and the last six kings at the beginning of his last group. But here again we have an opportunity to observe that the group division of the king list acquired a sort of authoritative character for the later Assyrians. The author of the synchronistic king list, published by Weidner in AOf III 70 f., which synchronizes, though frequently only tentatively, the kings of Assyria with those of Babylonia, according to the summary in column 4, lines 17 ff., began his list with Erišu, son of

framework and therefore referring only to such periods as time from the birth of a patriarch to the birth of his son (= a generation), to periods determined by epochal events, such as the great flood, the immigration into Egypt, etc.

Ilušumma, of Assyria and Sumulail of Babylon, but it would be difficult to imagine any reason why the list should begin with these kings—it might quite as well have started with the synchronism between Ilušumma and Suabu known from the chronicle CEBK II, 3-14—except that in our king list Erišu I heads the section here under discussion, or rather, as will be explained more fully later on, heads the Assyrian *limmu* list as far as it was known to the later generations.

In the first paragraph of the section here discussed, which contains the statement devoted to Erišu I, the king has after the words *Erišu mâr Ilušumma* as a further apposition to Erišu a relative clause of which, however, in the Khorsabad list only [. . . . .] . . -šu-ni and in the Nassouhi list only [. . . . .] li-ma-ni-š[u-ni] is preserved. Probably the clause is to be restored as *ša abu-šu-ni ša(?) li-ma-ni-šu-ni*, “((first) king) (both) with (known) father and with (known) *limmu*’s.” This characterizing epithet was, of course, intended by the compiler to be mentally repeated in every one of the following paragraphs—in the translation, of course, with “second (third, fourth) king,” etc., instead of “first,” this numeral being supplied by us merely in order to make it clear in English that the apposition applies to all following kings too.<sup>88</sup> The fact that the relative modification—which, of course, corresponds to the similar relative modification in the subscription to the third group—is here inserted in the paragraph devoted to King Erišu instead of being added (of course, in the plural form) as subscription at the end of the whole section column 1, line 27—column 4, line 32, only on the surface seems to be a deviation from the plan on which the first sections of the king list seem to be drawn up. Since the king list, as we have seen, is a chronicle, the single, independent statement devoted to a single king represents the basic principle of the king-list plan, while the contraction of several such statements into a group statement is a secondary development, merely an outgrowth of the tendency to shorten the text. According to the original plan, for example, the subscription (as we have called it hitherto): “a total of 17 kings, living in tents,” is only a contraction of the seventeen uniform singular appositions “a king who still lived in a tent,”

<sup>88</sup> It need hardly be expressly mentioned that the omission of the apposition in all following statements is only a further case of the text shortening referred to in previous remarks.

one placed after the name of each of the seventeen kings. Nor does the position of the relative clause in the middle of the statement devoted to Erišu, as compared with the fact that in the preceding sections the corresponding relative clauses appear at the end of these sections (as part of the subscription), represent any deviation, for in accordance with the chronicle character of the king list also the three group sections at the beginning of the king list should end with a verbal predicate, which, judging from the statements devoted to a single king each, should refer to the number of years they ruled. In the original conception of the king list, therefore, the text of the first section, treating of the nomad rulers, must, of course, have run like this: "Tudia, Adamu, . . . , in all 17 tent-dweller kings, ruled an unknown number of years." The words "in all 17 kings living in tents," which in the present text of the king list appear to be a kind of subscription, therefore originally formed an apposition to the subject of the statement exactly as does the relative clause in the Erišu statement. In the present draft of the king list the verbal predicate is omitted because it was reasoned that the fact that the length of the reigns of the kings concerned is not stated would make it perfectly clear that it was not known.<sup>89</sup>

Much has been speculated on the Assyrian kings of this period. Basing his views in part on the genealogies contained in the inscriptions of Ikûnu<sup>90</sup> and Šarrukîn I,<sup>91</sup> and in part on certain king-list fragments found at Assur<sup>92</sup> Weidner in his latest attempt<sup>93</sup> tried to reconstruct the following row of kings:<sup>94</sup> Erišu I, son of Ilušumma; Ikûnu, son of Erišu I; Šarrukîn I, son of Ikûnu; Puzur-Aššûr II; Aḫi-Aššûr; Rîm-Sîn, son of Kudurmabuk; Erišu II; [. . . ]-Aššûr; Iz(?)kur-Sîn; and Erišu III, son of Iz(?)kur-Sîn, altogether ten kings instead of the six counted in our king list and, of course, also in the Nassouhi list and the Assur fragments. The misread Aḫi-Aššûr (5th) and the incomplete [. . . ]-Aššûr (8th) are simply wrong duplications of Puzur-Aššûr

<sup>89</sup> This omission again is a method of text shortening.

<sup>90</sup> IAaK, VI, Nos. 1 and 3.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, No. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Schroeder, KAVI, No. 14 (= Weidner, MVAeG XXVI, No. 2, Pl. 5); No. 18 (= Weidner, *loc. cit.*); and No. 15 (= Assur B); Nassouhi list (= Assur A).

<sup>93</sup> AOf IV (1927), 16.

<sup>94</sup> For the sake of uniformity the names are transliterated as throughout this publication.

II, and both Rîm-Sîn (6th) and Iz(?)kur-Sîn (9th) are wrong readings for Narâm-Sîn, while the supposed Erišu III (10th) finally is the same king as Erišu II. The most gratifying feature of the new information gained from the king list certainly is the final disposal of the speculation that Rîm-Sîn, the well-known king of Larsa in southern Babylonia, ruled over Assyria and was even counted as king of Aššûr in the Assyrian king lists.<sup>95</sup>

According to our king list, the length of Erišu I's reign is 40 years, but in every other instance the number of regnal years is destroyed. In Assur A at least part of the number for Narâm-Sîn, perhaps 7 (Weidner: 4), is preserved with no indication, at least in the photographs, whether a 10 or several 10's are or are not to be restored before the units. In Assur B the statement on Puzur-Aššûr II evidently has [h]i-pi, "broken," instead of a number, showing that already in the text from which Assur B was copied the number of regnal years of that king was destroyed. Whether all copies had this hi-pi, however, is doubtful, since Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarēd I give definite numbers for the time from Erišu I to Šamši-Adad I, and Tukulti-Ninurta gives a definite number for the time from Ilušumma to his own reign. On these statements see the following section.

#### B. THE ŠAMŠI-ADAD I DYNASTY

This dynasty, which followed that of Puzur-Aššûr I, comprises only two kings, namely:

39. Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapu (1726-1694)

40. Išme-Dagân I, son of Šamši-Adad I (1693-1654)

The change from the old to the new dynasty is described in the statement relating to Šamši-Adad I with these words: "[Ša]mši-Adad, son of Ilu-kapkapu, [at the time of Narâm-Sîn,<sup>96</sup> [to Kardunias] went. In the limmu of Ibni-Adad, [Šamši-]Adad from Kardunias [came up. The city (or district) . . . ] . . . he seized,<sup>97</sup> [ . . . years in its midst],<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The untenability of this and practically all other theories regarding Rîm-Sîn and his father, Kudurmabuk (inclusive of the theory concerning their rule over Elam) as well as the utter baselessness of the theory—closely connected with those theories—concerning the original home of the Amurru on the Pušt-l-kuh (Landsberger and Th. Bauer) had been set forth by me more than ten years ago in "Martu and Amurru" (see n. 16).

<sup>96</sup> The last king but one of the preceding dynasty.

<sup>97</sup> Hardly: "(the whole land) from Kardunias [to . . . ] he seized."

<sup>98</sup> Conjectural.

forsooth, he lived. [In the *limmu* of . . . . .] Šamši-Adad [from . . . . . to Aššur(?)<sup>99</sup> came up. [Ērišu, son of Narām-Sîn, from the throne he removed. The throne he seized. Thirty-three years kingship he exercised.]

It will be noted that it was the country of Karduniaš to which Šamši-Adad fled, and not the land of Hana, as assumed by Nassouhi<sup>100</sup> on the ground that Šamši-Adad, according to his inscription (ZA, XXI, 247 ff.), built a temple of Dagân in Tirqa, according to Nassouhi the capital of that country.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the statement shows that Šamši-Adad was not a nephew of the supposed King Iz(?)kur-Sîn, as assumed by Nassouhi<sup>102</sup> and Weidner,<sup>103</sup> for instead of the words [*aḫi-šu ša Iz-kur*]-*d-sîn*, "brother of Izkur-Sîn," which these scholars took as an apposition to Ilu-kapkapu, Šamši-Adad's father, the list actually has [*ina taḫ-ši mNa-ram-dSîn*, "at the time of Narām-Sîn." Finally, a few lines farther on, the list reports Šamši-Adad's return from Karduniaš, not a fight against Babylonia, as suggested with question mark by Nassouhi.<sup>104</sup> Note that the events reported in this passage present a close parallel to those related later on in a similar passage on Ninurta-apil-Ekur.<sup>105</sup>

Ilu-kapkapi, the father of Šamši-Adad I, is, of course, not identical with Ilu-kapkapu (25), the last king but one of the second group. Between this ruler and Šamši-Adad I our king list enumerates thirteen kings, of whom ten (forming two groups of two and eight kings) are the sons of their immediate predecessors, the intervening thirteen kings, therefore, representing at least ten generations.

The fact that Šamši-Adad, although he begins a new dynasty, is described in the king list not as "the son of nobody" (i.e., of a man of nonroyal birth), but as the son of an Ilu-kapkapu, is significant, since the express naming of a new king's father always indicates that the latter was of royal status (i.e., had been the member of a royal family or even a king himself). That Šamši-Adad's father actually had been a ruler is clearly shown by a letter,<sup>106</sup> found at Mari and addressed to

<sup>99</sup> Restoration of the broken half-line not certain but correct in substance.

<sup>100</sup> AOF IV, 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>105</sup> The question whether the Šamši-Adad passage could be restored on the basis of the Ninurta-apil-Ekur passage was discussed by Nassouhi.

<sup>106</sup> Actually a copy kept as a record at Mari.

some important personage by the son of Šamši-Adad I, Iasmah-Adad, who during the later part of Šamši-Adad's reign and at the beginning of the reign of Išme-Dagân I ruled as a kind of viceroy over Mari. In this letter<sup>107</sup> Iasmah-Adad first states that in his family no one has ever broken an oath and then continues: "In the past Ila-kapkapu<sup>108</sup> and Iagit-Lim<sup>109</sup> (a former king of Mari) swore each other a mighty oath and Ila-kapkapu did not break his oath to Iagit-Lim, but Iagit-Lim broke his to Ila-kapkapu." The letter then refers to the fact, evidently regarded as the punishment for Iagit-Lim's perjury, that Ila-kapkapu destroyed "his [i.e., Iagit-Lim's] fortress."<sup>110</sup> If according to this letter Ila-kapkapu was able to wage a successful war against the king of Mari, he must of necessity have been a ruler having at his disposal an army strong enough to place him on an equal footing with that king. Unfortunately the Mari letters do not inform us over which city or district Ila-kapkapu ruled, but probably it was the city or district from which Šamši-Adad fled to Babylonia when, as we may suppose, Narām-Sîn of Aššûr seized it, perhaps at the death of Ilu-kapkapi, Šamši-Adad's father. Very likely, furthermore, it was that city—which according to the king list must have been situated somewhere southeast of Aššûr<sup>111</sup>—that Šamši-Adad on his return from Karduniaš

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the extracts communicated in transliteration and translation by Thureau-Dangin, RA XXXIV 136 f.

<sup>108</sup> The name is written I-la-kap-ka-pu-û in all four places where it occurs in the letter. Although the long vowel at the end of the name might be owing to some kind of emphasis—it is found quite frequently in letters—nevertheless, the constant writing of the name with final long vowel in this letter seems to indicate that it belongs to the name. In that case the root of the reduplicating *kapkápû* (< \**kapkápî'u*, \**kapkáp'u*) would be *k p i* (etc.) i.e., a root *tertia* in *irmae*, formation and stressing of the adjective corresponding entirely to that of *dandānu* "mighty," < \**dandāninu*. For *kápî'u* > *kápû* cf. *rabi'um* (instead of *rabi'um*), "great" > *rābû*. *Kapkapi* in Ilu-kab-ka-pi (Ila(?)-ka-ap-ka-pi) could be the endless form of \**kapkápî'u*, while *kapkapu* in Ilu-kab-ka-bu might represent the same form but developed from the younger *kapkápû*.

<sup>109</sup> The character of the *k* and *t* sounds is uncertain.

<sup>110</sup> In the continuation of the letter Iasmah-Adad evidently refers to a similar oath taken by Šamši-Adad I and Iahdun-Lim, king of Mari and son and successor of Iagit-Lim, which likewise was broken by the Mari king. As a punishment for this Iahdun-Lim's own servants killed him. The letter thus establishes the synchronisms:

|                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| Ilu-kapkapu . . . . .  | Iagit-Lim of Mari  |
| Šamši-Adad I . . . . . | Iahdun-Lim of Mari |
| Iasmah-Adad . . . . .  | of . . . . .       |

For the synchronism Šamši-Adad—Iahdun-Lim cf. also the Mari letter discussed by Thureau-Dangin in RA XXIV, 138 (a *redû*, by the name of Nûr-ilîšu, who had fled from Ekallâte, addressed the agent of the king of Mari with these words: "Thou knowest, formerly I was a *ya-ar-du-um ša bit Ila-ah-du-Li-im*, but I fled *a-na bit dŠamši-Adad*").

<sup>111</sup> This follows from the statement in the king list that Šamši-Adad "came up" to Aššûr from that city.

seized and made his residence for several years, before he finally marched to Aššūr, dethroned Ērišu II, and made himself king of Assyria.<sup>112</sup>

With Šamši-Adad I we have reached a point where we can advantageously attack the problem of establishing a definite chronology for the kings of Assyria, at least as far as the Assyrian sources are concerned. If we first take up merely the statements of the Khorsabad king list and its two duplicates, the situation brought about by the recovery of the Khorsabad list is this: we now have at our disposal king-list statements concerning the length of the reigns of all the kings from Šamši-Adad I (36) down to Aššūr-nerāri V (107) with the sole exception of the two consecutive kings Aššūr-rabi I (65) and Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I (66), the statements on the length of whose reigns are preserved in none of the three lists.<sup>113</sup> Since beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II (100) connection is established with the well-fixed Assyrian chronology after 890 B.C., which is based on the Assyrian *limmu* lists, Babylonian chronicles and king lists, and the Ptolemaic Canon, we are now able to assign—merely on the basis of the king-list figures—quite definite dates to all the Assyrian kings after Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I (66), while to the reigns of the kings from Šamši-Adad I (39) to Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I can be assigned at least minimum dates that fall short

<sup>112</sup> Since Išme-Dagān, the successor of Šamši-Adad, before the death of his father was stationed at Ekallāte, which therefore must have been the political and military center of an important district—just like Mari, where Iasmah-Adad was stationed—it seems not improbable that perhaps Ekallāte was that city. On the other hand, in view of the fact that Šamši-Adad I in the chronological statement in col. 1, ll. 14–17, of his inscription from Nineveh, Thompson, AAA XIX (1932), No. 260 A—he counts there a period of 7 dāru's *iš-tu* <sup>113</sup>*šū-lum Akkadim* (= A-GA-DĒ<sup>114</sup>) *ša-di šar-ru-ti-ia* *ša-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi*—gives such a prominent place to the capture of the city of Nurrugi, one might perhaps be tempted to assume that it was this city which Šamši-Adad captured before he took Aššūr. But the taking of Nurrugi may belong to a later period of Šamši-Adad's reign, since he doubtless did not build the Ištar temple at Nineveh until after the capture of Aššūr, which took place after that of the unknown city. Nevertheless, it may well be that Šamši-Adad actually wanted to reckon that period from the end of the dynasty of Akkad to the very beginning of his rule as king, i.e., when he made himself king of that city south of Aššūr. Dossin in RA XXXV, 182, believes that Nurrugi too was situated south of Aššūr, but he fails to give clear reasons for his assumption.

<sup>113</sup> Of the seventy-two preserved statements, the Khorsabad list contains all except that on Puzur-Aššūr III (61), which is supplied from the Nassouhi list. Disagreement in the number of years attributed to a particular king can be observed only in the case of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82), where the Khorsabad list has 3 years instead of the 13 years offered by the Nassouhi list. Since, as we shall see, the chronological calculations in the inscriptions of certain kings are based on a 13-year reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, the statement of the Nassouhi list has been accepted as correct in all our calculations. If, however, new and more authoritative evidence should prove the correctness of the statement in the Khorsabad list, all dates prior to 1179 would have to be lowered by 10 years.

of the actual dates only by the number of years to be attributed to the two reigns not preserved in the king list, provided, of course, that all the preserved numbers have been transmitted correctly in the king list.<sup>114</sup>

The date for Šamši-Adad I can be established, on the basis of the king-list statements, by the following simple calculation.<sup>115</sup> The Khorsabad list ends with the 10-year reign of Aššūr-nerāri V, and from the dating of the list in a *limmu* of this king's immediate successor, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, it is evident that these 10 years comprise the king's entire reign. The tenth and last year of Aššūr-nerāri (the year in which this king died) is also the year in which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III ascended the throne, i.e., the year 745/44 B.C., while the next year, 744/43, represents Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's first official year of reign. By adding, to this year 982 years, i.e., the sum of the regnal years, as preserved in the king list, of the kings from Šamši-Adad I to Aššūr-nerāri V, including the reigns of both of these kings, and by designating the length of the two unknown reigns as  $x$ , the first official year of Šamši-Adad I would be 1726/25 ( $+x$ ) B.C., while his official reign would cover the 33-year period 1726/25( $+x$ )—1694/93( $+x$ ) B.C. His accession year, of course, would be 1727/26 $+x$ , which at the same time would be the last year of Ērišu II.

<sup>114</sup> Absolute certainty on this point can, of course, be obtained only after each number has been corroborated by contemporary or almost contemporary sources.

<sup>115</sup> In order to avoid any possible misunderstandings, it may be pointed out that the year here used for datings as well as calculations is not the year of the Gregorian calendar but the Babylonian year, which begins with Nisān (= March/April). Any Babylonian year therefore comprises parts of two Gregorian years, namely, approximately the last 9½ months of the first year and approximately the first 2½ months of the second year, and for this reason it is most correctly designated with a double number, e.g., 745/44 B.C. If for the sake of simplification this year is designated simply as 745, it is nevertheless to be understood as 745/44.

Furthermore, the regnal years of a king are not reckoned, as they commonly are in modern times, from the date of his accession to the throne, but, in accordance with the Babylonian practice, from the first Babylonian calendar year after his accession to the throne. While this year is considered his first official year, the preceding fraction of his reign is considered as belonging to the last year of the preceding king.

It need hardly be pointed out that, when dealing exclusively with Babylonian and Assyrian chronology or the chronology of those countries that adopted the Babylonian year, the only sensible method is, of course, to base all chronological calculations on this year for the simple reason that, since our knowledge of the interpolation of the intercalary months before the Persian period is extremely defective, we actually lack the means for any accurate identification of dates given according to the Babylonian calendar, not to mention the fact that in case no month is mentioned it is usually utterly impossible to decide in which of the two years of our calendar represented in part by one Babylonian year the event concerned took place.

Naturally it will be our aim to replace these approximate dates with definite dates by attempting to determine the value of  $x$ , which represents the length of the two lost reigns. The king lists as we have them to date do not furnish any clue as to how this might be achieved, but fortunately chronological statements made in the building inscriptions of several kings concerning the periods that elapsed between the reign of some early king who built or rebuilt a certain temple and the later king who again restored it will help us to attain our goal. To be sure, if these statements are interpreted as has hitherto been done, it would seem quite impossible to use them for any accurate calculation, since at least according to the common conception none of them seems to harmonize with the other, the assumed differences varying from about thirty to several hundreds of years in some cases. For instance, while Aššūr-aḫa-iddina (112)<sup>116</sup> states that 126 years elapsed between the construction of a temple by Ērišu I (33) and its reconstruction by Šamši-Adad I (39), Šulmānu-ašarēd I (77)<sup>117</sup> seems to ascribe 159 years to the same period. And while Aššūr-aḫa-iddina<sup>118</sup> reckons 434 years for the period from the latter event to a still later reconstruction by Šulmānu-ašarēd I (77), the last-mentioned king<sup>119</sup> himself seems to ascribe to this period 580 years, the whole period from Ērišu I to Šulmānu-ašarēd I therefore amounting to 560 years according to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, but to 739 years according to Šulmānu-ašarēd. Again, the 720 years assumed, according to the customary views, by Tukulti-Ninurta I (78), Šulmānu-ašarēd I's son,<sup>120</sup> for the period between Iluṣumma, Ērišu I's father, and himself, agrees neither with Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's numbers—in comparison with these they represent much too high a number—nor with those of Šulmānu-ašarēd—in comparison with these Tukulti-Ninurta's number is much too low! Finally 641, the number of years assumed by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87),<sup>121</sup> as the present text actually seems to indicate, for the period between Šamši-Adad III (59) and Aššūr-dan I (83) is more than twice as high as the sum of the intermediate reigns according to the king list, namely, 316 years. In view of the fact that there existed king lists as well as

<sup>116</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 19 ff.

<sup>117</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 37 ff.

<sup>118</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 24 ff.; KAH II, No. 126, col. 3; ll. 6' ff.

<sup>119</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, l. 41 + col. 4, ll. 1 ff.

<sup>120</sup> KAH II, No. 48, obv., ll. 14 ff., and No. 59, col. 2, ll. 5 ff.

<sup>121</sup> I R 9-16, col. 7, ll. 64 ff.

*limmu* lists for the whole period from Ērišu I to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina (and his successors) and that the scribes of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina (112) as well as those of Šulmānu-ašarēd I (77), Tukulti-Ninurta I (76), and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87) doubtless had or could have had access to those lists, the assumed amazing discrepancies not only tend to discredit all chronological statements of the royal inscriptions, but also tend to cast doubt on the correctness of the statements of the king lists. For this reason it will be necessary to examine thoroughly the statements in the inscriptions as compared with those of the king list (see p. 305).

We begin with Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, the latest of the kings from whom we have such chronological references. He ascended the throne in 681 B.C., his official first year therefore being 680 B.C. Adding to this year the 580 years which Aššūr-aḫa-iddina<sup>122</sup> states had passed between the time when Šulmānu-ašarēd I rebuilt the Aššūr temple at Aššūr and the time when he himself rebuilt or started to rebuild it, we are carried back to the year 1260 B.C. According to the numbers given in the king list, Šulmānu-ašarēd's reign lasted from 1272 to 1243 (accession year: 1273), and 1260 would therefore be the thirteenth year of his 30-year reign. Now it has been almost an axiom with some modern chronologers who have tried to explain the chronological statements in the Assyrian inscriptions that the intervals are to be counted not from the year in which the temple, etc., was built or restored by a previous king, down to the year in which it again was restored by a later king, but always from the first year of reign of the older builder's immediate successor to the last year of the later restorer's immediate predecessor; in other words, the statements are always understood as referring to the period represented by the reigns of the kings ruling between the reign of the early builder and the reign of the later builder. But this could not well be the case in the instance here discussed if the numbers as given by the Khorsabad king list for the intermediate reigns as well as the number given by Aššūr-aḫa-iddina are to stand. For according to that list the sum of the intermediate reigns between Šulmānu-ašarēd I and Aššūr-aḫa-iddina is not 580 but only 562 years—18 years less than the interval given by Aššūr-aḫa-iddina.<sup>123</sup> We might, of

<sup>122</sup> KAH II, No. 126, col. 3', ll. 12' ff.

<sup>123</sup> If the numbers of the Khorsabad list are adopted, the difference would even be 28 years.

course, assume either that Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's scribes made a mistake in their calculation, e.g., that they counted the 18-year reign of Aššūr-rēš-iši I (86) twice,<sup>124</sup> or that they used a king-list copy in which the numbers given for the regnal years somehow deviated from those given by the Khorsabad text. In point of fact, a striking example of such a discrepancy is observed in the statements of the Khorsabad and Nassouhi lists concerning the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82), for while the former quite clearly attributes to that reign 3 years, the latter quite as clearly ascribes to it 13 years. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of method, the assumption of mistakes should, of course, be resorted to only in cases where no other explanation is possible. As a matter of fact, the statement of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina agrees perfectly with the statements of the king list if only we apply his statement to the period between the older and the younger construction of the temple (see p. 305).

When we now turn to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's statement<sup>125</sup> that 434 years elapsed between the construction of the Aššūr temple by Šamši-Adad I (39) and its reconstruction by Šulmānu-ašarēd I, we are, of course, again confronted by the question from when to when the period of 434 years is to be reckoned. Judging, however, from our observation that the number of years given by Aššūr-aḫa-iddina as the interval between the restoration of the Aššūr temple by Šulmānu-ašarēd I and his own restoration must necessarily have been reckoned from reconstruction to reconstruction, we might at least expect that the same would be true of the interval here discussed. However, there remains to be considered the fact that the restoration of a temple as large as the Aššūr temple could hardly be achieved in one single year, and in case it required a considerable number of years, it would, of course, be very important for our chronological calculations to know whether the interval of 434 years or the next interval of 580 years somehow includes the period of construction or whether it is reckoned—as would actually seem more natural—only to the year in which the reconstruction was begun. In the latter case, any accurate calculation

<sup>124</sup> Or, to explain the difference of 28 years resulting when the Khorsabad list figure for Ninurta-apil-Ekur (see above) is adopted, that they counted the 28-year reign of Adad-nirāri III (104) twice.

<sup>125</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 24 ff.; KAH II, No. 126, col. 3', ll. 6' ff.

of the whole period covered by the statements of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina would, of course, be impossible. Since, however, it can hardly have been Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's intention to defeat the whole purpose for which he evidently stated such definite numbers as 126, 434, and 580, we must necessarily conclude that the intervals given by him were intended to be considered as being conterminous with each other, no matter whether they are reckoned only to the year in which the reconstruction started—in this case the construction period should be included in the following interval—or to the end of the construction period—in this case it should be included in the preceding interval. Adding, therefore, the 434 years directly to the date indicated by Aššūr-aḫa-iddina for the reconstruction of the Aššūr temple by Šulmānu-ašarēd, i.e., to the year 1260 B.C., we arrive at the year 1694 B.C. as the year in which, according to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, the older reconstruction by Šamši-Adad I took place. We have already seen that on the basis of the king-list numbers the date for Šamši-Adad I's reign can be established as  $1726(+x) - 1694(+x)$  B.C., and it will readily be observed that if the year 1694 is to fall within the reign of Šamši-Adad as established on the basis of the king-list statements, the value of  $x$  (i.e., the number of years comprising the two lost reigns of the king list) must equal zero. The exact date of Šamši-Adad I's reign would therefore be 1726–1694 B.C., and the construction of the temple by Šamši-Adad I would have taken place (or would have been begun or finished, as the case may be) in Šamši-Adad's last year, i.e., the year of his death. Furthermore, according to these deductions, the interval between Šamši-Adad I's last year and 1272 B.C., Šulmānu-ašarēd I's official first year, would be exactly 421 years, corresponding to the  $421 + x$  years, which represent the sum of all regnal years attributed by the king list to the kings between Šamši-Adad I and Šulmānu-ašarēd I.

But before comparing this interval with the 580 years that seem to be given in Šulmānu-ašarēd I's inscriptions for the same period, it will be advisable, for reasons soon to become obvious, first to direct our attention to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's statement concerning the interval between Êrišu I (33) and Šamši-Adad I (39) or between the restorations of the Aššūr temple at Aššūr by these two kings. According to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina,<sup>126</sup> that interval amounted to 126 years, which, judging

<sup>126</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 18 ff.

from Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements just discussed, should likewise be reckoned from restoration to restoration. By adding the three intervals stated by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, namely,  $126 + 434 + 580 = 1140$  years, to 680 B.C., Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's official first year, we would obtain the year 1820 B.C. as the year in which Ērišu I, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, built or finished his Aššūr temple. With which year of his reign, which according to the Khorsabad list lasted the long time of 40 years, this year 1820 B.C. would be identical, we cannot establish directly, since the king-list numbers for Ērišu's immediate successors are not preserved.

Now we may turn to the chronological statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I relating to the same restorations of the Aššūr temple as those to which Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements (of course, with the exception of his last statement) refer. According to the usual conception—and it is perhaps not impossible that the scribes of Šulmānu-ašarēd I, who were responsible for the wording of the inscription, had the same idea—the king states<sup>127</sup> that between the construction of Ērišu's temple (or even the king's last year of reign) and the reconstruction of the temple by Šamši-Adad I (or his first year of reign) not 126 but 159 years elapsed, while between the construction of the temple by Samši-Adad I and that by Sulmānu-ašarēd I himself, not 434 or 421 but 580 years passed,<sup>128</sup> the whole period from Ērišu to Šulmānu-ašarēd thus apparently amounting to 739 years instead of to 560 years as stated by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina. That these gross deviations should be due simply to an almost unbelievable inability of the scribes of Šulmānu-ašarēd I to count or add correctly in the then existent *limmu* and king lists the years between the events or kings referred to, seems almost impossible, and especially so because in Šulmānu-ašarēd's statement each of the two periods is so considerably extended. Even more unpalatable is the assumption that in the short space between Šulmānu-ašarēd I (1272–1243) and Aššūr-dan II (934–912), in whose reign the Nassouhi list was written, the contents of the king and *limmu* lists should have undergone such tremendous changes that from them the great deviations in the chronological statements here discussed could be explained. The only possible solution of the problem, therefore, seems

<sup>127</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 37 ff.

<sup>128</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, l. 41 + col. 4, ll. 1 ff.

to be that the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I are made according to a quite different system of dating, namely, not by defining the intervals between the various events but by giving the years of a certain era. This era can, of course, be no other than that of the then extant *limmu* lists, which, as we have seen, began with the first year of Ērišu I, while all earlier *limmu*'s, as is stated in the king list, had been destroyed and therefore were unknown to the later Assyrians.

The correctness of this presumption is proved by a mere application of that system to Šulmānu-ašarēd's statements. If we add to 1272 B.C., which is the first year of Šulmānu-ašarēd's reign, 580 years, the resulting year, 1852 B.C., should represent, according to our suggestion, the first year of Ērišu I's 40-year reign. The year 1820 B.C., which, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements is the year in which Ērišu I built or completed his Aššūr temple, would therefore be the 33d year of this king's reign. It is from this year down to 1694, which is the last year of Šamši-Adad I according to the king list and also the year in which he built or completed the temple of Aššūr according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, that this latter king reckons 126 years ( $1820 - 1694 = 126$ ). Šulmānu-ašarēd's period of 159 years, however, is not reckoned from the thirty-third year of Ērišu I but, exactly like his 580-year period, from the year 1852 B.C., Ērišu's first regnal year and at the same time the first year of the *limmu* era. The 159th year of this era, according to Šulmānu-ašarēd the year in which Šamši-Adad I built his temple, is then the year 1694, i.e., *exactly* the year in which, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's figures, Šamši-Adad's temple was built.<sup>129</sup>

But, furthermore, if from 580, the number of years ascribed by Šulmānu-ašarēd to the period from the first year of Ērišu to the last

<sup>129</sup> Note that the scribe has included in the period of 159 years the year in which the temple was built (or finished).







The fact that the 159 years are to be reckoned from Ērišu's first year seems still to be indicated, though now only imperfectly, by the words *2 šu-ši 39 šandte iš-tu palē 7 E-ri-še il-li-ka-ma* . . . , which must be interpreted as "When 159 years had passed since (the beginning[!] of) the reign of Ērišu, (this house again had become weak, and Šamši-Adad, priest of Aššūr, rebuilt it)." Note that the term *ištu palē X* is not used in the Aššūr-aḥa-iddina passage, which has merely *2 šu-š 6 šandte il-li-ka-ma* immediately after the statement that Ērišu had rebuilt or replaced the old Ušpia temple. Similarly, the passage *9 šu-ši 40 šandte illi-ka-ma*, etc., which continues the Sulmānu-ašarēd passage just translated, should be rendered: "When (finally) 580 years had gone by (since the beginning of Ērišu's reign), the temple which Samši-Adad . . . had built and which (during that time) again had become weak and old, was struck by lightning," etc. The omission of "the beginning of," by which in the original text the intended meaning doubtless was made quite certain, again comes under the head of tendencies toward abridgment of the text.

year before Šulmānu-ašarēd's first official year—i.e., the year in which he ascended the throne—we deduct the 159 years of the period from Ērišu I's first year to Šamši-Adad I's last year (both years included), we obtain 421 years as the interval between Šamši-Adad's last year and Šulmānu-ašarēd's first year (both years excluded). But that is *exactly* the number of years as could be derived for the same interval on the basis of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's statements as well as—after the elimination of the unknown  $x$ —from the statements of the king list! This fact is of the greatest importance, for two of the three different calculations are entirely independent of each other, and the fact that they lead to the same result must therefore—barring, of course, the possibility of quite unusual coincidences—be regarded as an almost absolutely conclusive proof that neither of the two consecutive kings Aššūr-rabi I (65) and Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I (66), the statements on the length of whose reigns are not preserved in any of the king lists, had an official year of his own and that therefore the destroyed chronological formula in either of the two paragraphs devoted to them must have been DUB-pi-šú KI-MIN (= DUB-pi-šú šarru-la épūš-uš).<sup>130</sup> As a consequence of this elimination of the two unknown reigns, we are now able to establish definite dates—at least as far as the official Assyrian chronology is concerned and provided, of course, that the numbers as transmitted in the Assyrian king lists are correct—for the whole uninterrupted row of Assyrian kings from Šamši-Adad I (1726–1694 B.C.) down to Aššūr-bāni-apli (668–626 B.C.).<sup>131</sup> Moreover, the date for the reign of Ērišu I can be established as 1852–1813 B.C. Finally, we know that the 86-year period from 1812 to 1727 comprised the five reigns of Ikūnu, Šarru-kīn I, Puzur-Aššūr II, Narām-Sīn, and Ērišu II, although a definite distribution of these years over the various reigns will, of course, be possible only after discovery of material giving the now missing regnal years of the five kings.

We turn now to the statement of Šulmānu-ašarēd's son and succes-

<sup>130</sup> The complete disregard of the DUB-pi-šú reigns in the computations of the royal chronologers proves that DUB-pi-šú means not "an unknown time" or "a short time," and not "two years" or "one year." Unquestionably DUB-pi is a term for the portion of the last king's last year after this king's death. It is therefore the equivalent of what elsewhere is called the *mu-sa-g-na-m-lugal-la* of the new king. The -šú, which is evidently abbreviated from *i-na DUB-pi-šú*, refers to the preceding king similarly as does the -šú of *it-ti-šú*, *aḫū-šú*, etc.

<sup>131</sup> To some extent even to Aššūr-uballiṣ II, last king of Assyria.

sor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C.). In the gold tablet inscription KAH I, No. 48, and its duplicate, the limestone slab inscription, *ibid.*, No. 59, which commemorate the reconstruction of the temple of Ištar Aššūrītu at Aššūr, this king makes mention of the number of years that had elapsed between Iluṣumma, the older builder of that Ištar temple, and his own reign. The numeral signs in question have been variously read as 13 šu-ši = 780<sup>132</sup> and 1'nēr 2 šu-ši = 720.<sup>133</sup> The first number is entirely out of the question because 13 would never be written . The space left between the first group of a slanting and a perpendicular wedge and the following group of two perpendicular wedges clearly indicates that the number is composed of the two signs  and , of which the latter, the number 2, is, of course, to be connected with the following substantive šu-ši, the whole expression 2 šu-ši meaning "2 sixties" = 120. Since, in consideration of the great length of the period in question, the sign before 2 šu-ši should represent a large number, one would naturally surmise that it is the sign for nēr, "600," the next higher basic unit above geš (= šuššu), "60," in the Sumerian sexagesimal system. But note that the nēr sign, which is a combination of 60 and 10,<sup>134</sup> wherever else it occurs not only has the "10" wedge after the perpendicular "60" wedge—in conformity, of course, with its Sumerian name geš-u, "ten sixties"—but in the later periods also has the "10" wedge moved upward to a position on a level with the head of the "60" wedge, the actually certain symbols for 600 in the later periods therefore being <sup>135</sup> and <sup>136</sup>. Tukulti-Ninurta's sign, however, has a slanting wedge before the lower part of the upright, the form of this sign thus being completely identical with that of the sign šú (= ) in Tukulti-Ninur-

<sup>132</sup> So, e.g., Weidner, *MVAeG*, XXVI (1921), No. 2, p. 30, and Luckenbill, *ARAB I*, §§ 181 and 186.

<sup>133</sup> So, e.g., Ed. Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babylonien, Assyrien und Aegyptens* (1925), p. 18. Other scholars refrain from making a choice.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. the older signs in Thureau-Dangin, *ROEC* 504.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. HGT, No. 4, col. 8 (Old Babylonian), and Zimolong, *Ass.* 523, col. 4, ll. 15 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. 5 R 17 f., col. 4, l. 23', etc.

ta's inscriptions.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, the scribes of the Assyrian royal inscriptions are not in the habit of using the Sumerian numeral sign 600 but instead use ME, "hundred," and LIM, "thousand," of the Semitic decimal system.<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, the Assyrian mathematicians, who in their calculating operations actually use the whole sexagesimal system of the Sumerians, would not write the number 600 when it is part of a compound number like 720 with the proper "600" sign but would express it with the number 10 placed before the "60" wedges, i.e., the number 720 would be written by them not as  $\overline{10} \text{ } 2 \text{ } \text{šu-ši}$  but as  $\overline{10} \text{ } \overline{10} \text{ } \text{uš}$  (or similarly), no matter whether one conceives that as "12 šuš" or as "1 nêr and 2 šuš." But be this as it may, when we calculate the periods on the basis of the king-list chronology and the chronological statements of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarêd, Tukulti-Ninurta's father, not only 780, but also 720 years would be a number much too high for the period between Ilušumma (. . . -1853 B.C.) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206 B.C.). The first number would carry us back as far as 2022 B.C., i.e., 170 years before the first year of Êrišu I, Ilušumma's son and successor (1852-1813 B.C.), while the 720th year before Tukulti-Ninurta, i.e., the year 1962 B.C., would still be 110 years before Êrišu I's first year. It is, of course, quite out of the question to assume for Ilušumma a reign of 170 (or more) or 110 (or more) years.

Now, if Tukulti-Ninurta wanted to indicate the time between Ilušumma and himself in a definite number of years, he could do so, of course, only on the basis of the *limmu* era, which, as we have seen, begins with Êrišu I; for according to the king list the *limmu*'s of Êrišu's predecessors were not known. According to this *limmu* era the

<sup>137</sup> For this sign cf. KAVI II, No. 59, col. 4, ll. 11, 17, 19 ff.

<sup>138</sup> Note, however, the use of the Sumerian numeral š ā r, "3600," in the stone tablet inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, KAH I II, No. 60, col. 2, l. 4, and No. 61, obv., l. 23, in

VIII  $\overline{10} \text{ } \text{qabê mât ha-at-ti-i}$  (var. *ha-ti-i*), "8 šar's of Hittite warriors." Probably the Sumerian š ā r is used here for no other reason than that the writer wanted to give a number based on a high and impressive numerical unit and at the same time perhaps a number that was at once understood to be a round number. It would seem to be wrong, therefore, to translate "28,800 Hittite warriors." Cf. in German familiar language *ein Dutzend Kinder* and *ein Schock Kinder*, expressions which are much more impressive than "12 Kinder" and "60 Kinder," and which are loosely used for any number of children around 12 and 60, as, e.g., 11 or 13 and 55 or 65.

period from Êrišu I's first year to the last year of Tukulti-Ninurta I's predecessor (both years included) would be 610 years, and it is this number or one not far removed from it, not 720, that should be represented by the  $\overline{10} \text{ } 2 \text{ } \text{šu-ši}$  of the king's inscription. In point of fact, a number near the expected 610, namely, 620, would result if it could be shown that the character before  $2 \text{ } \text{šu-ši}$  is a sign not for "600" but for "500." Assumption of such a meaning doubtless receives strong support from the fact, pointed out above, that the sign found in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription is quite different from the well-known sign for 600. Note, furthermore, that if the sign is 500, this would agree excellently with the custom followed by the scribes of the royal inscriptions, which is to use for the higher numbers those of the decimal system, for 500 is half of 1,000. Finally, when we compare the sign in question with LIM, "1,000," it will be noticed that the former sign is or seems to be identical with the first part of the latter sign, and a speculatively inclined mind would perhaps be justified in concluding that the former might have been arrived at by "halving" the sign for 1,000, similarly as, for example, the symbol IO or D for 500 was created by halving CIO (M) = 1,000. But it is equally possible—apart from other possibilities—that the sign actually is š ū, here used for "500" for a reason not immediately apparent. I do not recall any occurrence of the sign here discussed in the meaning of "500" or in the function of any other numeral outside of Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription, and it is doubtful whether a systematic search for it would ever lead to its discovery in any inscription. But that would in no way be decisive, since it leaves open the possibility that the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta actually made an attempt to introduce a special sign for 500 but did not succeed in enforcing its general use. Really decisive would be only the positive proof that the wedge group found in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions denotes a number different from 500.

But even if, on the strength of the foregoing arguments, the supposed number 780 or 720 is reduced to 620 we are still confronted with a difference of 10 years between this number and the 610 years which are to be counted for the period extending from the first year of Êrišu I to the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta I according to the statements of the king list and those of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarêd

as well. To attribute this difference simply to a mistake made by the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta while counting the intervening *limmu*'s in the *limmu* list, or to a mistake made already in the king-list copy used by the scribes for their calculations,<sup>139</sup> is not very appealing, since it should be resorted to only in case no other solution of a less radical character is possible. Assuming, therefore, that the scribes actually meant a period of 620 years, one might perhaps suppose that they believed, or even knew it to be a fact, that Ilušumma erected his Ištar temple ten years before Ērišu I's first year. But this, though not altogether impossible, seems not very likely, since according to the king list the *limmu*'s prior to Ērišu's reign had been lost. On the other hand, we could quite as well assume that the 620 years were meant by the scribes to extend not to the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's accession year but to the end of his tenth year of reign. This indeed, seems quite possible, despite the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta in his inscriptions expressly refers to his first year of reign.<sup>140</sup> For, the original royal record on the construction of the Ištar temple, from which our present much abbreviated inscriptions are derived, will, of course, have stated not only the year in which the preparations for the reconstruction of the temple (the removal of the old temple buildings, excavations, making of bricks, etc.) as well as the construction work itself began—this would have been the 610th or 611th year of the *limmu* era—but also the year in which the reconstruction, the adornment, and the equipment of the temple building as well as its courts, gates, etc., were completed—this, in case the explanation of the number suggested above is correct, would have been the 620th or 621st year of the era. When later the royal redactor of inscriptions shortened the original report into the condensed form of the present inscriptions, he may quite well have suppressed, for the sake of brevity, the *limmu* era years relating to the beginning of the reconstruction in favor of those relating to the completion of the restoration, without, however, deleting the reference to the *šurru šarrāti*, thereby still indicating in the simplest possible

<sup>139</sup> For such an assumption one may point to the fact already mentioned that the duration of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign is given as 3 years in the Khorsabad list but as 13 years in Assur A.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. KAH I, No. 48, obv., l. 20: *i-na šur-ru šarru-ti-ja*.

manner that the work of restoration had actually been begun already in Tukulti-Ninurta's first year of reign.<sup>141</sup>

That 10 or 11 years is quite the normal length of time required for the construction of a large temple may perhaps be concluded from the date given by Šulmānu-ašarēd I for his reconstruction of the Aššūr-aha-iddina. For while Šulmānu-ašarēd's 580-year period according to our calculations ends with his accession year, 1273 B.C., thus indicating that the reconstruction work or the preparations for it were initiated at the very beginning of Šulmānu-ašarēd's reign, the interval of 580 years which Aššūr-aha-iddina states elapsed between Šulmānu-ašarēd's and his own reconstruction, leads us back no further than 1260 B.C., which according to the king list is Šulmānu-ašarēd's 13th year of reign, the whole construction period thus extending over 12 years. Similarly the year 1694 B.C., which both Aššūr-aha-iddina's and Šulmānu-ašarēd's statements indicate to be the, or rather a, year of Šamši-Adad I's reconstruction of the Aššūr temple, to all appearances is the year in which Šamši-Adad's reconstruction was completed, since, according to the king list plus the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd 1694 is the last year of Šamši-Adad I's reign, i.e., the year in which this king died and which therefore was only partly covered by his reign.

The gratifying result of these explanations, which I hope will prove correct, is that Tukulti-Ninurta's chronological statement would be completely in harmony with the king-list chronology and the statements of Aššūr-aha-iddina and of Šulmānu-ašarēd, Tukulti-Ninurta's father. It would show, or, in connection with our other observations, help to show, that the chronological statements of the Assyrian kings were based on a reliable or at least authoritative source, namely, the king and *limmu* lists, and not on inaccurate calculations of royal scribes possessing a greatly restricted knowledge of history and chron-

<sup>141</sup> In the present form of the inscription the reference to the year in KAH I, No. 48, obv., ll. 14 f., is logically to be connected only with the statement in rev., ll. 10 ff.: *iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di gaba-dib-be-šu ú-še-ik-lil na-re-ja aš-ku-un*, "from its foundations to its parapets I completed (the temple) (and) my *narā*'s I deposited," while the intervening formally co-ordinated sentences actually represent subordinate clauses and, in order to bring out their real meaning, should be translated: "after already in my inauguration year (literally: in [or: during] (the period of) the inauguration of my kingship (sometimes the phrase is: in (the period of) the consecration of my royal throne) I had torn down all (expressed by the piel *u-ne-gír*) its dilapidation (= the whole dilapidated structure)."

ology and—what would be of even greater weight—being utterly indifferent to sources of information that for all we know must have been readily accessible to them. But even should the sign in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions turn out to be a rather unusual or mistaken form of the sign for 600 after all, it still would have to be regarded as a significant fact that the number 720, which we would then have to read in Tukulti-Ninurta's statement, and the number 620 calculated from the statements of the king list plus the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd and Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, differ by 100 years; for to some extent this fact might still be evaluated as a proof that the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta based their statement on the king list. The number 720 for 620 would, of course, be merely an arithmetical or even a counting mistake on the part of Tukulti-Ninurta's scribes, a mistake that would have been of almost no consequence had it occurred in the units instead of in the hundreds.

We now turn to the statement found in the prism inscription of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I<sup>142</sup> (87) that the temple of Anu and Adad, which in ancient times Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, had built, had been torn down after 641 years by Aššur-dan and that then it had not been rebuilt for 60 years until he, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, himself rebuilt it. Among the kings of Assyria there is only one Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, namely, Šamši-Adad III (59), who, according to the king list, ruled from 1510 to 1495 B.C. But, as already hinted, it is, of course, absolutely impossible to harmonize the interval of  $641 + 60 = 701$  years of which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra speaks with the interval between the reigns of Šamši-Adad III and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (1114–1086), as figured on the basis of the king-list statements, since, according to these, the interval amounts to only 380 years. Nor is it possible to explain the 701 years as figured on the basis of the *limmu* era, for, according to the king list and the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I, the period from 1852 to the accession year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (inclusive of both years) is 738 years, and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's period of 701 years would therefore end already with the 38th year before his own first year, i.e., with 1152 B.C., which is the 27th year of the 46-year reign of Aššūr-dan I (1178–1133 B.C.), Tukulti-apil-

<sup>142</sup> 1 R 9–16, col. 7, ll. 60 ff.

Ešarra's grandfather and fourth predecessor. In order to remove the chronological difficulties presented by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's statement, it has been assumed that the author of the inscription mistook Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapi, for Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagān, and Meissner (in IAaK, p. 17, n. 2) supports this with the statement that in the Old Assyrian building inscription Assur 12780 + 12794<sup>143</sup> Šamši-Adad I is mentioned as builder (or first builder?) of the Anu and Adad temple. But with this assumption the chronological difficulty would in no way be removed, since subtraction of the 701 years from 1726–1694, Šamši-Adad's reign, would bring us to 1025–993 B.C., i.e., to 69–101 years after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's last year; while, if we try a solution on the basis of the *limmu* era, the situation would remain the same as has been described above, i.e., the 701st year of the era would be the 38th year before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's first year.

The solution of the problem must therefore be sought in a quite different direction. The old temple which, according to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's inscription, Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, had built and which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra himself rebuilt is referred to by the latter as the temple of Anu and Adad. But in Old Assyrian inscriptions, namely, in three of Ērišu I<sup>144</sup> and in one of his son, Ikānu,<sup>145</sup> only a temple of Adad is mentioned, and it has been concluded from this fact that originally there was only a temple of that god there, while the temple of Anu was built at a later date<sup>146</sup> and originally probably was much less important than that of Adad. In point of fact, the former preponderance of the Adad temple over that of Anu is still reflected in the brick inscriptions of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's father, Aššūr-rēš-iši I (86),<sup>147</sup> who built most of the substructures under the platform on which his son erected his Anu and Adad temple; for the double sanctuary is designated in these inscriptions as "temple of Adad and Anu." Moreover, in the door-socket and brick-tile inscriptions of Šulmānu-ašarēd II (93)<sup>148</sup> the double temple is referred to as *bīt A-nim bīt Adad*, "the house of Anu and the house of Adad," and corresponding-

<sup>143</sup> Evidently unpublished.

<sup>144</sup> IAaK, V, Nos. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>145</sup> IAaK, VI, No. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Andrae, AATA, p. 1; Meissner in IAaK, p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>147</sup> AATA, pp. 5 f.

<sup>148</sup> AATA, pp. 43 ff.



historical reference to that old Adad temple, the original version of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's report on his reconstruction of the temple of Anu and Adad will, of course, have had a similar reference to the old temple of Anu, which must have occupied the site of Anu's half of the Anu and Adad temple of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra; and it is quite possible that this reference mentioned Šamši-Adad III as its first builder or last rebuilder, although, if Meissner's communication referred to above is substantiated, the original version may quite well have referred, instead of to Šamši-Adad III, to Šamši-Adad I and perhaps also to his son, Išme-Dagân I (as the one who finished the construction?).<sup>151</sup> In point of fact, however, there is no longer any reason for the latter assumption, since the 641 years, the cause of that speculation, have been shown to refer to Êrišu I. Naturally the historical reference to the Anu temple will have contained also a statement concerning the years that elapsed between the former construction of that temple and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. In the rather careless process of shortening the original version of the report on the reconstruction of the temples of Anu and Adad, however, it so happened that only the name of Šamši-Adad, the former builder of the Anu temple, was taken over into the abbreviated statement, while that of Êrišu I, the former builder of the Adad temple, was dropped. Vice versa, from the two statements on the periods which had elapsed subsequent to the construction of the two former temples only that applying to the Adad temple of Êrišu was taken over, while that applying to the Anu temple was dropped.

Summing up our evidence, we may now state that if understood in the manner indicated, the chronological statements in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings harmonize very well with the statements of the king and *limmu* lists. In point of fact, this result might have been expected, since the Assyrian kings constitute an uninterrupted row of rulers with no overlapping of reigns that could have occasioned misunderstandings concerning the length of certain periods.

[To be concluded]

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<sup>151</sup> The original version might even have referred to both Šamši-Adad I and Šamši-Adad III.

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A. POEBEL

# THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD—

*Continued\**

A. POEBEL

## C. AŠŠŪR-DUGUL AND SIX OTHER USURPERS

|                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|
| 41. Aššūr-dugul    | 1653-1648 |
| 42. Aššūr-apla-idi | 1648      |
| 43. Nāšir-Sîn      | 1648      |
| 44. Sîn-namir      | 1648      |
| 45. Ipqi-Ištar     | 1648      |
| 46. Adad-šalūlu    | 1648      |
| 47. Adasi          | 1648      |

Although to date our knowledge of the political events at the time of the Šamši-Adad I dynasty is still rather scanty, it nevertheless suffices to show, or at least to make us realize, that this dynasty represented a culminating point of the earlier history of the Assyrian kingdom. It may be noted that, according to our king list, each of the two kings belonging to the dynasty ruled a comparatively long time, namely, Šamši-Adad 33 years, and Išme-Dagân even 40 years—a circumstance which perhaps was not without influence on the strong consolidation of royal power under the two rulers. The end of the dynasty, however, must have been marked by a catastrophe, for Aššūr-dugul, the king who succeeded Išme-Dagân, was not a son or other relative of Išme-Dagân or Šamši-Adad but a usurper of non-royal birth.

The king-list statement relating to him is as follows: "Aššūr-dugul, son of a nobody, (and) not even occupant of a throne (outside of Aššūr), for six years kingship (over Aššūr) exercised." The designation of a king as "the son of a nobody," i.e., as the son of a man of nonroyal status, occurs here for the first time in the king list, and evidently it is for this reason that it is here coupled with the additional designation of the usurper as *lā bēl kussē*, "(and) not the occupant of a throne." By that the king-list compiler means, of course, that when Aššūr-dugul, the son of a nobody, became ruler over As-

\* See JNES, I, No. 3 (July, 1942), 247-306.

syria, he had not even previously acquired royal status by the usurpation of some other kingdom outside of Aššūr. The double characterization of King Aššūr-dugul's previous status is quite instructive of the Assyrian views on royalty and a man's right to, or rather fitness for, the occupancy of the royal throne; we see from it that the opprobrium clinging, from a legalistic point of view, to a king of nonroyal birth was deemed considerably mitigated in case he had previously raised his status to that of royalty by the usurpation of some other kingdom.<sup>152</sup>

Apart from the passage just discussed, and the beginning of the next statement, where once more it is used of Aššūr-dugul, the phrase "son of a nobody" is found in our king list only twice, namely, once in the immediately following statement, where it refers to each of the six usurper successors of Aššūr-dugul, and once, several statements later, where it is applied to the usurper Lullajju. But in these instances the phrase *lā bēl kussē* is not added again. The most natural explanation of this omission seems to be that, although the phrase was considered a necessary supplement to the phrase *mār lā mamāna* in all instances, it is expressly added, however, by the author of the king list (or probably, more correctly, preserved by the later redactors) only in the case of the first usurper of nonroyal birth, the redactors evidently trusting that the use of the comprehensive formula in the first instance would enable the reader to supply the missing part of the intended formula by himself.<sup>153</sup>

The reign of the usurper Aššūr-dugul was brought to an end by an even greater catastrophe than that which had overtaken the Šamši-Adad dynasty, for the king list reports that, within the last year of the six-year reign of Aššūr-dugul, six usurpers of nonroyal birth took possession of the royal power of Aššūr. The king-list statement concerning these usurpers is as follows: "At the time of Aššūr-dugul, the son of a nobody, Aššūr-apla-idi, Nāšir-Sîn, Sîn-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-šalūlu, (and) Adasi, six kings, (each of them) the son of a nobody, (at) the beginning<sup>154</sup> of his *duḫpu*, kingship he exercised."

<sup>152</sup> The customary translation of *lā bēl kussē* as "not entitled to the throne" is not justified; here, as well as elsewhere, *bēl*, "lord of something," has the meaning "owner of something," "one who owns, possesses, occupies, or has something"; in German, "einer, der etwas besitzt, hat, innehat."

<sup>153</sup> This is another instance of text shortening.

<sup>154</sup> Literally: "gate," "entrance."

As it stands, this statement presents some difficulties. Since grammatically the introductory phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma*, "still<sup>155</sup> at the time of Aššûr-dugul," must necessarily refer to each of the six kings who are the subject of the sentence, the statement seems to indicate that each of the six usurpers ruled over Aššûr at the time when Aššûr-dugul still was ruling it. But this is at variance with the further statement that these six kings ruled "at the beginning of his (= Aššûr-dugul's) *dubpu*," since the *dubpu* of Aššûr-dugul, representing that part of Aššûr-dugul's last year which lies after his death or after his removal from the throne, naturally cannot be considered as belonging to the time when Aššûr-dugul was still living and ruling over Aššûr. Moreover, if all the six new usurpers, as the text seems to state, ruled "(at) the beginning of Aššûr-dugul's *dubpu*," this, of course, could only mean that they all started their reign at the same time, namely, immediately after Aššûr-dugul's death or his removal from the throne, and that they also continued to rule as kings over Aššûr, even though only for a short while, at the same time. But it is quite unthinkable that the city of Aššûr was ruled, even for a very short period, by six (or even seven) different kings, all of them recognized by the king list as kings of Aššûr, a fact which, of course, means that each of them had taken actual possession of the throne of Aššûr. It is therefore quite obvious that the six usurpers ruled one after the other, each of them seizing the throne by a revolt against his predecessor. Very strange, finally, is the fact that, although the grammatical subject of the one-sentence statement relating to the usurpers is the six usurpers, the apposition *mâr lâ mamâna* as well as the verbal predicate *šarrûta êpuš* is in the singular!

The solution of these material and grammatical difficulties is, of course, that the present statement is a rather awkward contraction of six single statements each referring to one of the six usurpers. The words *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma*, with which the present statement begins, as well as the phrase *bâb dubpišu*, with its *-šu*, "his," referring to Aššûr-dugul, originally, of course, belonged only to the first of the six statements, namely, that on Aššûr-apla-idi, the first phrase originally probably forming part of an introductory statement that, at the time of Aššûr-dugul, Aššûr-apla-idi rebelled; whereupon the original

<sup>155</sup> Col. 2, ll. 6-11: <sup>6</sup> *i-na tar-ši* = *Aš-šur-du-gul-ma* | *mâr lâ ma-ma-na* <sup>7</sup> = *Aš-šur-apla-i-di* | *m Nâ-ši-ir-Sîn* <sup>8</sup> *Sîn-na-mir* <sup>9</sup> *Ip-qi-Ištar* | <sup>10</sup> *Adad-qa-lu-lu* | <sup>11</sup> *A-da-si* <sup>12</sup> *6 šarrâ ni-ni* | *mâr la ma-ma-na* <sup>13</sup> *bâb dub-pi-šu* | *šarru-ta êpuš-uš*.

report perhaps continued with the statement that Aššûr-apla-idi dethroned Aššûr-dugul and himself ascended the throne but that he ruled only for a short time at the beginning of Aššûr-dugul's *dubpu*. Of a similar trend were probably also the next five statements, but lacking, of course, the phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul*, instead of which the second statement possibly had *ina tarši Aššûr-apla-idi*, the third *ina tarši Nâsir-Sîn*, etc., but, of course, only in case the original or an earlier text described the circumstances under which the other usurpers seized the throne at the same length as in the statement on Aššûr-apla-idi. The phrase *bâb dubpišu*, however, may have been used in all statements, the *-šu*, "his," referring, however, not uniformly to Aššûr-dugul, as in the present text, but in each case to the usurper who preceded the king of the statement concerned. When contracting the six statements into one, the redactor simply forgot to change or to eliminate the *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma mâr lâ mamâna*, which could make sense only in a more extensive form of the first statement. Furthermore, he took over from each of these six statements, without changing it, the singular apposition *mâr lâ mamâna*, "son of a nobody," as well as the singular predicate *šarrûta êpuš*, "he exercised kingship," both of which in those six statements referred to just the king mentioned in the single statement, but which, with the contraction of the six statements, should, of course, have been placed in the plural.<sup>156</sup> To all appearances the redactor or simple copyist who contracted the six single statements into one used the statement referring to the first usurper as a frame for the contracted text; i.e., leaving the text of the statement on Aššûr-apla-idi as he found it but omitting the note on the rebellion, etc., he simply inserted into it, as an addition to the subject Aššûr-apla-idi, the names of the other five usurpers and, as an addition to all six usurpers, the summary *6 šarrâni*, "six kings."

Apart from the necessary variation of the names, the original statements relating to the six usurpers were evidently completely identi-

<sup>156</sup> As is well known, in the late periods the apposition to a plural substantive denoting persons can in certain cases actually be placed in the singular. Under the supposition that the contraction of the six statements into one took place in a relatively late period (see on this presently below) the singular apposition *mâr la mamâna* after *6 šarrâni* might therefore be conceived as not in contradiction with Assyrian grammar; but the singular finite verb form *êpuš* after the plural subject could not be justified under any circumstances. Note that in all other cases of group enumerations the appositions and other references to *šarrâni* are in the plural (in Group I, *dšibātu*; in Group II, *ša abbēšununi*; in Group III, *limânē-šunu*).

cal, and doubtless it was for this reason that some scribe making a new copy of the king list from a specimen of the older text thought the six statements might well be contracted into one. Evidently, however, he was not quite equal to this task. This clearly indicates that the contraction into one statement of the various statements on the six usurpers after Aššûr-dugul was not made by the author or the early redactors of the king list, whose subscriptions to the various groups at the beginning of the king list are completely in conformity with grammar and logic.<sup>157</sup> An additional indication that the contraction of the statements on the six usurpers is from a different hand is apparently, at least in combination with our other observations, the fact that the *naḫḫar*-sign, which in each of the subscriptions to the king Groups I-III precedes the number of the summary, is not found in our passage.

Although the king list does not state that each new usurper de-throned his predecessor and perhaps even killed him in order to remove every obstacle to his own pretensions, it nevertheless is most likely that this was the case, since revolt and usurpation of the throne always meant gambling with his life for the usurper, who himself had been able to secure the throne as a rule only by killing his predecessor. Considering the fact that all the usurpers ruled within the *DUBpu* of Aššûr-dugul and each of them therefore can have ruled only a very short time, some of them perhaps no more than a few days, the situation prevailing at Aššûr in Aššûr-dugul's last year may be imagined as resembling—but apparently in much greater proportions—the situation that prevailed at Tirzah, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, in the year in which Zimri, the servant of King Baasha, killed his lord, made himself king in his stead, and ruled over Israel for seven days, to be slain at the end of these days by Omri, the commander of the army. But only part of the people had chosen him king, while others tried to procure the kingdom for Tibni, and only at the latter's death was Omri, it appears, universally recognized as king.<sup>158</sup> It may be noted that omission—at least in the present form of the king list—of any statement concerning the manner in which the seven usurpers seized the royal power is to some extent in conflict with one of the principles followed by the authors of the king list, namely, that of making as clear as possible the relation existing be-

<sup>157</sup> See foregoing note.

<sup>158</sup> I Kings 16:9-22.

tween the new king and his predecessor or predecessors, especially in cases involving a change of dynasty. But, as shown by the phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma* at the beginning of the present statement, the original king-list text actually made some specific statement or statements on the circumstances under which Aššûr-apla-idi and the other usurpers came to power. The late redactor, however, was evidently of the opinion that these statements could be left out, because whenever a *mâr lâ mamâna* aspired to the throne of Aššûr, as a rule he could attain this goal only by a revolt, the killing of the king or the legal heir to the throne, etc. The later omission of these statements is only a step in the ever progressing reduction of the original extensive chronicle to a mere skeleton king-list chronicle.

With the exception of Adasi, the last of the seven usurpers, none of these has been known before. Weidner in his various lists of Assyrian kings (latest in AOf IV, 16 f.) assumed between Išme-Dagân I and Adasi only two kings, whose names he gives as [. . .] Jaššat and Rimuš on the basis of line 5 of the Aššûr king-list fragment VAT 9812 as copied by Schroeder in KAVI, No. 14, and by himself in MVAeG XXVI (1921), No. 2, last plate. On the original (collated by me in 1935), however, none of the signs preserved in that line are reasonably certain with the single exception of the sign KUR. Probably the line is a scribal note somehow explaining the omission on the tablet of the names of the thirteen kings between Išme-Dagân I and Šû-Ninua.<sup>159</sup>

For the inscriptions mentioning Adasi see the following section. In the name Adad-šalûlu note the preservation of the original first base vowel *a* of the substantive *šalûlu*, "cover," "protection."<sup>160</sup> As our name shows, this *šalûlu* must be regarded as the specifically Assyrian

<sup>159</sup> It is not clear whether the horizontal division line which this tablet has between Êrišu II and Šamši-Adad I and that which it has between Išme-Dagân (+ scribal note) and Šû-Ninua are to indicate a change of dynasty or whether they simply serve to indicate the different character of the various sections of the list. Note that, while in the last sections each line contains the names of two kings, in the first section each king is given a whole line, the second half-line—now missing—probably containing the phrase "son of . . .," or even giving the regnal years of each king.

<sup>160</sup> As is shown by its Sumerian equivalent *an-dul* (< *a-n-e-dul*), "cover," "protection," literally "it is (< had been) laid upon him or it," "it is lying (< it has laid itself) upon him or it" (more freely translated: "it covers him or it"), the *qatûl* form *šalûlu* (with stressed and lengthened second base vowel) had a passive (as Hebrew *qatûl*) or passive-intransitive meaning. This proves that, in addition to the actively transitive theme *šatûl* (*išlat*), "he has laid himself," "he lies," which is preserved in Akkadian, Pre-Akkadian had also a passive-intransitive theme *šalul*, "he has been laid," "he lies."

form,<sup>161</sup> while *šulûlu* with change of the short *a* to *u* before the *û* in the next syllable<sup>162</sup> is the specifically Babylonian form.<sup>163</sup>

## D. THE EARLIER ADASI DYNASTY

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 47. Adasi                                      | 1648      |
| 48. Bêlu-bâni, son of Adasi                    | 1647-1638 |
| 49. Libajju, son of Bêlu-bâni                  | 1637-1621 |
| ...  | ...       |
| 72. Eriša-Adad I, son of Aššûr-bêl-nišešu      | 1389-1363 |
| 73. Aššûr-uballiṭ I, son of Eriša-Adad I       | 1362-1327 |
| ...  | ...       |
| 78. Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Šulmānu-ašarêd I | 1242-1206 |
| 79. Aššûr-nâdin-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I | 1205-1203 |
| 80. Aššûr-nerâri III, son of Aššûr-nâdin-apli  | 1202-1197 |
| 81. Enlil-kudur-uṣur, son of Tukulti Ninurta I | 1196-1192 |

In the preceding section King Adasi (47) has been grouped with his six predecessors because, like all of them, he was a *mâr lâ mamâna* and a usurper, having in common, moreover, with the last five of his predecessors this, that he ruled only a fraction of Aššûr-dugul's last official year. The fact that in that year the city of Aššûr saw the rule of seven consecutive usurpers appeared so significant that it has not seemed advisable to separate Adasi from that group of usurpers, especially because the king list in its present form groups Adasi at least with the last five of his usurper predecessors. On the other hand, the usurper Adasi is the royal ancestor, in the male line, of all kings who succeeded him on the throne of Aššûr, down to Šîn-šarra-iškun (115) (and perhaps even to Aššûr-uballiṭ II [117], the last king of Assyria of whom we know) with the single exception of King Lul-laiju (53), "son of a nobody," who interrupted the rule of the dynasty

<sup>161</sup> Cf. also Aššûr-nâsir-apli, Great Alabaster Inscription (I R 45-47), col. 1, l. 44, and Standard Inscription (Layard, ICC, No. 1), l. 13.

<sup>162</sup> This partial assimilation is, of course, a case of vowel harmony.

<sup>163</sup> In some respects the relation just pointed out parallels that between Assyrian *kaššûdum* and Babylonian *kuššûdum*.

for six years but who was followed by a member of the dynasty, and probably of King Šîn-šumu-lišir (115), who ruled a very short time evidently between Aššûr-etel-ilâni and Šîn-šarra-iškun. For these reasons Adasi must be counted as the first king of the dynasty, which we therefore call the Adasi dynasty.

Unfortunately, the present extremely condensed text of the king list fails to give us any detailed information explaining the fact that the reign of Adasi, like that of his predecessors, was of extreme shortness. It is, of course, quite possible that he died a natural death immediately or a short time after he ascended the throne.<sup>164</sup> In point of fact, at the time when Adasi ascended the throne he was presumably already an older man, since each of his first four successors, who followed him in a straight line of succession and who therefore represent one generation each, ruled only a comparatively short time (Bêlu-bâni, 10 years; Libajju, 17 years; Šar-ma-Adad I, 12 years; EN-TAR-Šîn, 12 years). This fact might quite well mean that at the time of his ascension to the throne Adasi was not only a grandfather but possibly a great-grandfather. For this reason it seems likely that he was placed on the throne, perhaps by members of his own family, as the senior chief of the family.<sup>165</sup>

On the other hand, we cannot be sure, as long as we have no authentic information, whether Bêlu-bâni's accession to the throne still in the last official year of Aššûr-dugul and therefore only a short time after the accession to the throne of his father was not brought about by a revolt of Bêlu-bâni against his father. But even in this case Adasi would remain the ancestor of the dynasty, the usurpation of the throne by his son, if such a usurpation actually took place, representing merely a minor incident in the history of the dynasty and being of no more weight than, for example, in a later period the dethronement of Aššûr-šadûni (64) by his uncle Aššûr-rabi I (65), the seizure of the throne by Aššûr-nâdin-apli (79), while his father, Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) was still living, etc.

It is a very significant fact that Aššûr-aḥa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn name as their oldest known ancestor not Adasi, but Bêlu-

<sup>164</sup> Cf. below the remarks on Mutakkil-Nusku.

<sup>165</sup> For rulers who were placed on the throne when they had attained an advanced age, cf., e.g., Galba, who was proclaimed Roman emperor when he was seventy-three years old, and Nerva, of whom it is expressly stated that he was proclaimed emperor in his old age.

bâni, son of Adasi<sup>166</sup> (in one inscription of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and its duplicate simply Bêlu-bâni).<sup>167</sup> One of the reasons for giving such prominence to Bêlu-bâni probably was the fact that among their ancestors Bêlu-bâni was the first who not only himself, but also whose father, was a king. Of course, Bêlu-bâni was, strictly speaking, not of royal birth, since at his birth his father was a commoner, and so he himself was born a commoner; yet even the short time that Adasi was king made his son at least a royal prince before he came to the throne. Moreover, the fact that the reign of Adasi lasted such a short time, possibly no more than a month or a few days, must have made this king's reign appear quite insignificant in comparison with the ten-year reign of Bêlu-bâni, especially if the latter, after the turmoil of Aššûr-dugul's last official year, succeeded in re-establishing, at least to some extent, the power of the Assyrian state, which, of course, must have greatly suffered during the series of usurpations. Perhaps one may refer in this connection to the epithet *mukîn šarrûti* <sup>mât</sup>Aššûr, "who (again) established (on a secure basis) the kingship of Aššûr," which Aššûr-aḫa-iddina in his Senjirli stele apparently gives to Bêlu-bâni.<sup>168</sup>

Concurrent, however, with these legalistic and material reasons for designating not Adasi but Bêlu-bâni as their oldest known ancestor on the throne of Aššûr was doubtless the fact that in the king list Adasi is enumerated only as one of the group of six usurpers which precedes Bêlu-bâni, the first five kings of which do not belong—at least as far as we know—to Bêlu-bâni's family. Taking the group

<sup>166</sup> Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Senjirli Stele (VS I, No. 78), obv., ll. 16 f.: *zêr šarru-u-ti da-ru-u-ti* <sup>ša</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni <sup>mâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si <sup>mu-kin</sup> <sup>šarru-u-ti</sup> <sup>mât</sup> <sup>Aš-šur-ki</sup> <sup>šâ du-ru-u-ti</sup> <sup>šû</sup> <sup>BAL-BAD</sup> <sup>ki</sup> Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, HRETA No. 28, ll. 30 f., and duplicate inscription, Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 351 f., ll. 28 f.: *li-ip-ti-pi da-ru-u-ti* <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni <sup>mâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si <sup>šâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki <sup>pir'u</sup> <sup>BAL-BAD</sup> <sup>ki</sup> <sup>šû-qu-ru</sup> <sup>zêr</sup> <sup>šarru-u-ti</sup> <sup>ki</sup> <sup>ŠIT-ti</sup> <sup>ša-a-ti</sup>.

Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Negub Inscription, VS I, No. 79, l. 5: *li-ip-ti-pi* <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni <sup>apil</sup> <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si . . . . .; still more complete in Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, p. 35 (Meissner-Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 206), where the line continues *apil* <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si <sup>šâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki <sup>ki</sup> <sup>ŠIT-ti</sup> <sup>ša-a-ti</sup> [ . . . ].

Šamaš-šuma-ukin, Lehmann, Pl. VIII ff., l. 23: *zêr šarru-u-ti da-ru-u-ti* <sup>ša</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni <sup>mâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si <sup>pir'u</sup> <sup>BAL-BAD</sup> <sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff., obv., ll. 48 f.: *lip-lip-pi šarru-ti* <sup>šâ</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni <sup>šâr</sup> <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki <sup>ki</sup> <sup>ŠIT-ti</sup> <sup>ša-a-ti</sup> <sup>šâ du-ruk-šû</sup> <sup>BAL-BAD</sup>, and its duplicate, *ibid.*, pp. 299 ff., l. 32: *š[ā-BAL-BAD] <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-[ba-ni] šara* <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki <sup>ki</sup> <sup>ŠIT-ti</sup> <sup>ša-a-ti</sup> <sup>šâ du-ruk-šû</sup> <sup>BAL-BAD</sup> <sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> See n. 166.

enumerations of the six usurpers not as a late and rather casual development but as an original and intentional arrangement, the late scribes who consulted the king list would necessarily regard Bêlu-bâni as the first of the long row of kings to each of whom the king list from now on uniformly, i.e., without interruption by a further group enumeration, devotes an independent statement. Under the influence of this arrangement, which gave Adasi a very unfavorable place, the royal scribes as well as their royal lords quite naturally would feel that they should disregard Adasi and in the inscriptions should name Bêlu-bâni as the ancestor of the royal family. This, moreover, must have appeared to them a very advantageous solution of the problem—resulting for them from the fact that the ancestor of the royal family was a commoner and a usurper—since in this manner the fact of Adasi's existence was not suppressed, his name still being mentioned as that of Bêlu-bâni's father. This, of course, is another indication that with the later Assyrians the king list and its statements had acquired a kind of official and authoritative status.

We have already had occasion<sup>169</sup> to discuss the hints by Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukin that Bêlu-bâni, and through him, of course, they themselves, derived their origin from a very old family which had resided in and perhaps even ruled over the city of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, the predecessor of Aššûr in the old Sumerian period. Note especially the epithet *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, "scion of BAL-BAD," in Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's inscription concerning the restoration of Eanna as well as in the cylinder inscription of Šamaš-šuma-ukin. Even if this epithet should be intended for Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukin themselves, as is quite possible,<sup>170</sup> it would nevertheless apply also to Bêlu-bâni, their ancestor.<sup>171</sup> An idea quite similar to that conveyed by *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> should be expressed by the epithets *ki-šit-ti* <sup>ša-a-</sup>

<sup>169</sup> See JNES, I, 265.

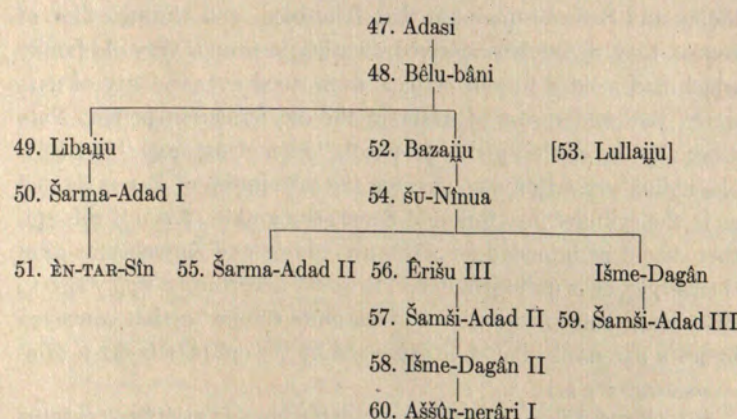
<sup>170</sup> Cf. the epithet *zêr* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> which Šarru-kin II in his report on his eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin, RHCS, I, 113), applies to himself.

<sup>171</sup> For the combination of *pir'u* with an old city name cf. Sin-aḫhe-riba, Bellino Cylinder, l. 13: "Bêlu-ibni, son of an overseer of the builders, a scion of Šu-anna (*pi-ir'u* <sup>Šu-an-na</sup> <sup>ki</sup>), who had grown up in my palace similarly as a young dog, as king of Sumer and Akkad I set over them." Šu-anna apparently is the quarter of the city of Babylon in which the temples were situated, i.e., the west part of the later greatly extended city. As such, it probably was in an old period the name of the whole settlement then existing at the site of the later Babylon. The phrase "scion of Šu-anna" evidently is intended to indicate that the builder family from which Bêlu-ibni came was a very old one which traced its origin to the earliest periods of the city.

*ti du-ruk-šu* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup> in Esarhaddon's building inscription (Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff. and 299 ff.).<sup>172</sup>

With A-d[a-si] and Bêlu-bâni begins the preserved part of column 1 of the Synchronistic King List A from Aššûr,<sup>173</sup> and from it (and in part from the preserved part of col. 2 of the Nassouhi list<sup>174</sup> and a small Aššûr fragment of a different type)<sup>175</sup> also the names—though not in all cases in their correct reading<sup>176</sup>—as well as the sequence of the immediate successors could be established. As of Adasi and Bêlu-bâni, so also of their successors, Libajju, Šar-ma-Adad I, ÈN-TAR-Sîn, Bazajju, Lullajju, šû-Nînua, Šar-ma-Adad II, Êrišu III, Šamši-Adad II, and Išme-Dagân II, we have to date no personal or contemporaneous inscriptions, nor is, as far as our present material goes, any reference to them found in later texts. Historically, therefore, the 127-year period represented by these ten kings (1637–1511 B.C.) still is a blank for us apart from the few facts that can be gathered from the king list itself.

Quite instructive in that respect is the genealogy of the kings of that period as indicated by the following pedigree:



<sup>172</sup> In Esarhaddon's stele from Senjirli only *ša du-ru-u[k-šû]* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup>. In Nies and Keiser, *op. cit.*, No. 28, and its duplicate, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 f., only *ki-šit-ti ša-a-ti*, but with preceding *pîr'u* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Weidner, AOf, III, 70 f.

<sup>174</sup> AOf, IV, 4 f.

<sup>175</sup> KAVI, No. 14.

<sup>176</sup> Note Weidner's readings in AOf, IV, 16: Lu(?)bâi [in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 450: Šabâi] (49); Lilkud-Šamaš [in Meissner, *loc. cit.*: Gizil(?)Sîn] (51); [Meissner, *loc. cit.*: Zimzâi—but later correctly Bazâi] (52),—and Šû-Nînua (54).

<sup>177</sup> Sumerian writing for a form of *paqâdu* (*pâqid*, *ipqid*, etc.). Or is an Akkadian precativ form *li-tar*, etc., intended?

It will be observed that the first three successors of Bêlu-bâni were his son Libajju, his grandson Šar-ma-Adad I, and his great-grandson ÈN-TAR-Sîn, either of the last two the son of his predecessor. But ÈN-TAR-Sîn is followed by his great-uncle Bazajju, a second and probably younger son of Bêlu-bâni<sup>178</sup> and, therefore, a brother of ÈN-TAR-Sîn's grandfather, Libajju. Unfortunately, we have no information on the circumstances under which this break in the succession occurred. But probably with ÈN-TAR-Sîn the Libajju branch of the royal family became extinct, since from then on succession to the throne remained with the Bazajju branch. The royal dignity then devolved on Bazajju probably because, as brother of King Libajju, he was the closest relative and therefore the nearest heir to the throne, although he may quite as well have become king because he was the then senior of the family. Judging from the relatively low figures attributed to his and his predecessors' reigns, ÈN-TAR-Sîn seems to have died a young man. Bazajju, on the other hand, must have been at least forty-two years old (the sum of the regnal years of Libajju and his successors, plus at least one year of Bêlu-bâni), when he became king, and at least seventy years old at the end of his 28-year reign. Whether perhaps the latter circumstance may be regarded as directly or indirectly responsible for the fact that after Bazajju, evidently in consequence of a revolt, Lullajju, a usurper, ascended the throne, we have no means of ascertaining, although it seems quite likely. As mentioned before, the rule of the usurper lasted only six years, and with šû-Nînua, son of Bazajju—most probably after a successful counterrevolt—the Adasi dynasty reoccupied the throne of Aššûr. It is interesting to note that, although after Lullajju according to our king list a change of reign by an act of violence occurred at Aššûr several times, Lullajju is the last usurper (with the possible exception of Sîn-šumu-lišir and Aššûr-uballiṭ II) who was not a member of the Adasi dynasty.

I presume it will be necessary to explain why the names written *Li-ba-A.A.*, *Ba-za-A.A.*, and *Lu-ul-la-A.A.* in the Khorsabad list (time of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III) and the Synchronistic King List (time of

<sup>178</sup> It may be noted that both sons of Bêlu-bâni bear names ending with the gentilic (or hypocoristic?) ending *-ajju*. Names of this kind, as a rule, were not borne by Assyrian kings and princes, evidently because they were not considered as befitting the dignity of the royal house. The names Libajju and Bazajju may therefore indicate that their bearers were born before Adasi and Bêlu-bâni became kings. Cf. also the name Lullajju, borne by Bazajju's successor, according to the list a *mâr lû mamâna*.

Aššūr-bāni-apli),<sup>179</sup> are rendered by me Libaiju, Bazaiju, and Lullaiju. I might add that in the Nassouhi list (time of Aššūr-dan II?) the same names appear in the writing *Ba-za-A[.IA]* and *[Lu-la-A].IA* and that these writings, too, represent Baza(i)ju and Lu(l)la(i)ju. Similar variant writings of the gentilic forms with -A.A and -A.IA are, as is well known, quite frequent, and for certain periods the one or the other writing is even a quite characteristic feature. Note, however, as especially instructive, the fact that Adad-nerāri II in his clay tablet inscription KAH I, No. 84, line 39, designates his foe Nūr-Adad as *mātTe-ma-na-A.A*, "the Temanean," while in line 63 of the same text the same Nūr-Adad is called *mātTe-man-na-A.IA*, "the Tema(n)nean." Note, furthermore, the plural form *mātAr-ma-A.IA-MEŠ*, "the Arameans," in line 33 of the inscription just referred to and in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, Clay Prism, KAH I, No. 63, column 3, line 5. Concerning the usual transliteration, e.g., of *mātMa-da-A.A*, "the Mede," and *mātHi-in-da-na-A.IA*, "the Hindanean," as *mātMa-da-a-a* and *mātHi-in-da-na-a-ia*, I have always (i.e., from the very beginning of my acquaintance with Assyrian) had a feeling of uneasiness, since no plausible reason could be thought of why the Assyrian scribes, though placing the case endings *u* and *i* (in older periods also *a*) after all other substantives and adjectives, should have let the masculine gentilic substantives and adjectives of the type *Ma-da-A.A* end exclusively with *a*. For this would, of course, represent the old accusative ending -*a*, the use of which in the later periods as a general case ending for the gentilica would be very strange, especially since in those periods the accusative ending disappeared from the language, superseded by the nominative ending *u*. Moreover, if the plural form *mātAr-ma-A.IA-MEŠ*, "the Arameans," is to be conceived as *mātAr-ma-a-ia*<sup>180</sup>, why should in such a case even the plural ending -*ē* be replaced by -*a*, the former accusative ending of the singular? There is only one way to avoid these difficulties, namely, to concede that, instead of the hitherto prevailing readings of final A.A or A.IA, these sign combinations have not only the phonetic value *a(i)ia* but also the additional values *a(i)iu*, *a(i)i*, and *a(i)ie* and that where, for example, *Hi-in-da-na-A.A*, "the

<sup>179</sup> In the latter list (according to Weidner's copy in AOF, III, 70), the last name is actually written *Lu-ul-la-A[.A]*, i.e., with omission of the second A by mistake.

<sup>180</sup> So, e.g., Schroeder in KAH I, p. 118, col. 2: *māt[Ū]-ru-ma-a-ia*<sup>mes</sup>; *ibid.*, p. 122, col. 2.

Hindanean," and *Hi-in-da-na-A.IA*, "the Hindanean," are in the nominative singular, they must be read and transliterated *Hi-in-da-na-aiju* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)iu*<sub>2</sub> (the latter with the optional readings *Hi-in-da-na-a-ju* or even *Hi-in-da-na-a-ju*<sub>7</sub>);<sup>181</sup> that as genitives singular they must be read *Hi-in-da-na-aii* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)i*; that where, in older language, they are in the accusative singular, they represent *Hi-in-da-na-aiia* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)ia*<sub>2</sub>; and, finally, that as plurals they represent *Hi-in-da-na-aiie* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)ie*<sub>2</sub> (cf. *Ar-ma-A.IA-MEŠ* = *Ar-ma-a(i)ie*<sub>2</sub><sup>mes</sup>, or, in certain cases, *Ar-ma-a(i)ie*<sub>3</sub> with A.IA.MEŠ = *a(i)ie*<sub>3</sub>).

This can be shown conclusively—at least to anyone not too much impressed by traditional views or not too much engrossed in the views hitherto held by him—in the following manner. The name *Lullaiju*, "the Lullean," which, as we have seen, is written *Lu-ul-la-A.A* and *Lu-la-A.IA* in the king lists, appears in the legal document, Ebeling, KAJI, No. 171, line 6, where as the subject of a relative clause it stands in the nominative, in the writing *Lu-la-IA-Ū*<sup>182</sup>; but where, in the same text, it stands in the genitive, as in lines 4 and 9 and in the scribal note to a seal (in all these passages *mār L.*) as well as in line 2 (. . . *L.*), it appears as *Lu-la-IA-E*.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, in KAJI, No. 62, line 6, in *mār L.*, the genitive is written simply as *Lu-la-IA*. This genitive is to be read, of course, *Lu-la-ii* or *Lu-la-ie* with *IA* = *ii* or *ie*, while as nominative the same *Lu-la-IA* would have to be read *Lu-la-iu* with *IA* = *iu*, and, as accusative, *Lu-la-ia* with *IA* = *ia*. But also *Lu-la-IA-Ū* represents *Lu(l)la(i)iu* (or *Lu(l)lāiu*), i.e., it is to be read *Lu-la-iū* with *IA.Ū* = *iū*, while *Lu-la-IA-E* represents *Lu-la-ié* with *IA.E* = *ie*, and we must, of course, conclude from this that the combination *IA.I* will have the phonetic value *ii*, *IA + A* the value *ia*. In other words, the simple *IA* is a polyphonic sign in the sense that, although its initial consonant remains unchanged, its vowel can be any Akkadian vowel recognized in the Akkadian system of writing. In that respect *IA* parallels the two signs *PI* and *ʾA* with their respective phonetic values *ya*, *ye*, *yi*, and *yu* and *ʾa*, *ʾe*, *ʾi*, and *ʾu*, as well as, from a more com-

<sup>181</sup> On the phonetic value *ʾu* of the sign *IA* see my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 4, n. 2.

<sup>182</sup> So also in *op. cit.*, No. 215 (a list), l. 23, as well as in No. 223, l. 14, and No. 310, l. 68 (in both instances in the *limmu* formula).

<sup>183</sup> So also in No. 310, l. 3 (*ša qāt L.*).

prehensive point of view, the signs  $\text{A}^2$  ( $= \text{A}$ ) and  $\text{AH}$ , with their respective values  $a^2$ ,  $e^2$ ,  $i^2$ , and  $u^2$ , and  $ah$ ,  $eh$ ,  $ih$ , and  $uh$ . In my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* (p. 29, n. 2), however, I have shown that, since in an open syllable because of its polyphonic character the reading of  $\text{A}$  would be in doubt,<sup>184</sup> the Akkadian scribes preferred in such cases to use not the ambiguous simple  $\text{A}$  sign but the combinations  $\text{A.A.}$ ,  $\text{A.E.}$ ,  $\text{A.I.}$ , and  $\text{A.U.}$  for the expression of  $\text{A}$ ,  $\text{E}$ ,  $\text{I}$ , and  $\text{U}$ . According to the same method, the Assyrian scribes, in order to avoid the ambiguity of the polyphonic sign  $\text{IA}$ , used in open syllables, at least where it seemed essential to indicate the vowel, the combination  $\text{IA.A.}$  for  $\text{ia}$ ,  $\text{IA.E.}$  for  $\text{ie}$ ,  $\text{IA.I.}$  for  $\text{ii}$ , and  $\text{IA.U.}$  for  $\text{iu}$ . In brokenly written closed syllables beginning with  $\text{i}$  the use of these combinations was, of course, unnecessary, and in point of fact they are not used in them, since in such a case the vowel of  $\text{IA}$  is determined by the vowel of the second sign. Compare, e.g.,  $\text{IA-al-ma-an} = \text{Ia-al-ma-an}$ , Šamši-Adad V, I R 29 ff., column 4, line 11;  $\text{Ha-li-IA-um} = \text{Ha-li-iu-um}$ , CT VIII, 44:91-5-9, 2499 (probably time of Sumu-la-il), lines 7 and 12, with which the feminine name  $\text{Ha-li-ia-tum}$  (occurrences indicated in Ranke, EBPB, p. 187) is to be compared;  $\text{A-IA-um-ma} = \text{a-iu-um-ma}$ ,<sup>185</sup> and  $\text{IA-um-ma} = \text{iu-um-ma}$  ( $< \text{iumma} < \text{aiumma} < \text{aiiumma}$ ), "anyone,"<sup>186</sup> Delitzsch, AHwb., page 47.<sup>187</sup>

According to Weidner's copy of the Aššûr synchronistic king list A (AOf, III, 70 f.) the name of King šu-Ninua<sup>ki</sup> would seem to appear there as šr-Ni-nu-a, while the fragment KAVI, No. 14 (= Weidner, MVAeG XXVI, No. 2, last plate), which I had an opportunity to col-

<sup>184</sup> This is, of course, not the case when  $\text{A}$  occurs as the first part of a brokenly written closed syllable such as  $\text{A-al}$  ( $= \text{al}$ ),  $\text{A-ul}$  ( $= \text{ul}$ ), etc., since there the vowel of  $\text{A}$  is determined by the vowel of the second sign.

<sup>185</sup> May be conceived also as  $\text{A.IA-um-ma} = \text{a(i)iu-um-ma}$ .

<sup>186</sup> It will be observed that with the recognition of the value  $\text{iu}$  for  $\text{IA}$  such monstrous forms as  $\text{a-ia-um-ma}$  and  $\text{ia-um-ma}$  simply disappear.

<sup>187</sup> The same rule applies to the use of  $\text{A.A.} = \text{a(i)iu}$  and  $\text{A.A.U.} = \text{a(i)iu}$ ,  $\text{A.A.} = \text{a(i)iu}$  and  $\text{A.A.I.} = \text{a(i)iu}$ , etc. Cf., e.g.,  $\text{A.A-um} = \text{aiiu-um}$  ( $= \text{ai. iu-um}$ ), "who" (Delitzsch erroneously "where"), but without mimation, whereby  $\text{iu}$  becomes an open syllable,  $\text{A.A.U.} = \text{aiiu}$ , "who," Delitzsch, AHwb., p. 47;  $\text{A.A-um-ma} = \text{aiiu-um-ma}$ , "anyone," *ibid.*;  $\text{Da.A.A-uk-ku} = \text{Da-aiiu-uk-ku}$  ( $= \text{Da-a(i)iu-uk-ku}$ ), Šarrukīn, Display Inscription, l. 49 (in Greek Dēiōkēs, which, of course, prohibits a reading  $\text{Daioukku}$  [so Luckenbill, ARAB II, §§ 12 and 56]).

The phonetic values discussed in the above sections, as well as others not here discussed, were pointed out by me several years ago in weekly conferences with the members of the Assyrian Dictionary staff held for the purpose of establishing for the Dictionary a system of transliteration not only uniform but at the same time in conformity with the cuneiform system of writing as it was conceived by the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes. The writer intends to publish his proposals in a systematic form at a date not too remote.

late, apparently offers  $[\text{š}]\text{U-U}^{\text{A}}\text{Ninua}$ .<sup>188</sup> The phonetic writing of the second component Ninua as  $\text{ni-nu-a}$  in Synchronistic King List A is not especially remarkable, but the use of the god-determinative instead of the city-determinative before Ninua in KAVI, No. 14, is evidently a mistake of the scribe, since Ninua or the contracted Ninā is attested with any certainty only as the name of a city, not as the name of a deity who in our case should, of course, have some connection with the city of Nineveh.<sup>189</sup> As regards the sign šr of Weidner's copy, however, it is, in view of the šU-u of KAVI, No. 14, very likely that the original of the Synchronistic King List likewise reads šU-u, i.e., that there, too, the last wedge is not horizontal as in šr, but slanting.<sup>190</sup>

The writing of the first element of the name as šU and šU-u seems to indicate that they are to be read phonetically, i.e., as šú and šú-u, although one could argue that, if šU is an ideogram, the u of šU-u could be conceived as a so-called phonetic complement. Note, however, that a purely phonetic writing of the first name element, i.e., as šú-u, would well agree with the phonetic writing  $\text{ni-nu-a}$  of the second element in the Synchronistic King List. Since in other names beginning with šU<sup>191</sup> it is followed by the name of a god, the šU apparently is the old genitive and relative pronoun šu, which later was replaced by the genitive and relative particle ša,<sup>192</sup> the name Šú-Ninua<sup>ki</sup>, therefore, meaning "he of Ninua," "the Ninevite," or more likely "(the property, servant, etc.) of the city Ninua," which is conceived as a deity. Since šu before the following genitive is in the construct state,

<sup>188</sup> Of the first sign only the perpendicular wedge and apparently the lower end of its slanting wedge is preserved.

<sup>189</sup> With regard to the South Babylonian city  $\text{NINĀ}^{\text{ki}}$  and its chief deity  $\text{NINĀ}$ , the Chicago Syllabary in the two unfortunately not completely preserved equations, ll. 158 f. offers two phonetic values for the sign  $\text{NINĀ}$ , namely,  $\text{n a - a n - š e}$  and  $\text{n i - n ā - a}$  (or  $\text{n i - n ū - a}$ ). Since the latter in CT II, 35 f.: S. 1300, rev. 1, 2, is given to the city  $\text{NINĀ}^{\text{ki}}$ , the value  $\text{n a - a n - š e}$  evidently belongs to the goddess  $\text{NINĀ}$ . Possibly the scribe wrote  $\text{NINĀ}$  instead of  $\text{NINĀ}^{\text{ki}}$  under the influence of the quite customary writing  $\text{A-šur}$  (etc.) for  $\text{A-šur}^{\text{ki}}$  (etc.) or under the influence of the fact that in other names šU is combined with the name of a deity. Actually cities are deities, but they are not designated as such in the writing of their names.

<sup>190</sup> Weidner copied the text from a photograph of the original, which is in the Constantinople Museum.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. šU-Šin, Andrae, StrA, No. 132, l. 2; šU-ŠA-Šur, Ebeling, KAJI, No. 62, l. 22; and perhaps, according to Ebeling's copy, šU-ildāni-ni, *ibid.*, No. 171, l. 6, instead of which l. 3, however, at least according to Ebeling's copy, has a clear  $\text{maš-ildāni-ni}$  ( $= \text{Ašarēd-ilāni}$ ).

<sup>192</sup> Originally the accusative of the sing. masc. of the pronoun. For the inflection of the latter, see my remarks in OLZ XXXI (1928), col. 699.

*Šu-Ninua*<sup>193</sup>, not *Šu-u-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup>, is doubtless the correct form of the name, as indeed only this writing is found in other names beginning with that pronoun.<sup>193</sup> The plene writing *šú-u* is probably due to the fact that the nominative construct form *šu* had fallen into disuse and had been replaced by *ša*.<sup>194</sup>

The immediate successor of *šú-Ninua* was his son *Šar-ma-Adad* II (55), who is followed—with a break in the line of succession—by his brother *Ērišu* III (56).<sup>195</sup> Then follow in a direct line of succession *Ērišu* III's son *Šamši-Adad* II (57) and his grandson *Išme-Dagân* II (58). But a new break occurs with the accession to the throne of the next king, *Šamši-Adad* III (59). For, although he is the son of an *Išme-Dagân*, the latter is not identical with *Išme-Dagân* II but, as expressly stated in the king list, is the brother of [. . . ]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad*, son of *šú-Ninua*. In other words, while *Išme-Dagân* II was a great-grandson of *šú-Ninua*, *Šamši-Adad* III's father *Išme-Dagân* was a son of *šú-Ninua*, representing, therefore, the second generation before King *Išme-Dagân*. Unfortunately, the first part of [. . . ]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* is broken in both the Khorsabad and the Nassouhi lists. But, if the king list designates *Šamši-Adad*'s father *Išme-Dagân* as the brother of another son of *šú-Ninua*, this makes sense, of course, only in case this brother was one of the preceding kings and not an otherwise unknown person; and since the king list mentions as a king of *Aššûr* no other son of *šú-Ninua* whose name ends with "<sup>d</sup>*Adad*" than *Šar-ma-Adad* II, we must assume that this king was the brother referred to in the king list even though the remnants of the broken signs as they now appear in the break do not clearly indicate that they were *Šar-ma*. It is, of course, not necessary to point out expressly that *Išme-Dagân*, the father of *Šamši-Adad* III, did not rule.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Compare also the well-known writing of the name *šú-<sup>d</sup>Šin* at the time of the third dynasty of Ur.

<sup>194</sup> In case the original of Synchronistic King List A has actually *ši*, one might perhaps be tempted—since *ši* is the genitive form of *šu* (see OLZ XXXI, *loc. cit.*)—to explain *Ši-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup> as the old genitive form of *Šu-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup>, used there instead of the nominative form similarly as in late inscriptions, e.g., the genitive form *Hajjâni* may be used (or written) instead of the nominative form *Hajjânu*. But such an explanation seems nearly out of the question since a name like *Šu-Ninua* no longer allowed inflexion in the period of King *Šu-Ninua* and probably was not inflected even in much older periods.

<sup>195</sup> On Nassouhi's erroneous assumption that his list omits the statement on *Ērišu* III's reign see above, p. 470.

<sup>196</sup> Nassouhi, in whose list the name of *šú-Ninua* is destroyed and therefore could not offer any hint for a reading of the preceding name, restored the [. . . ]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* of his list as

It is quite interesting to see that two of the three known sons of *šú-Ninua*, namely, King *Ērišu* III and *Išme-Dagân*, who did not rule, bear the names of former Assyrian rulers; that this is equally true of their sons, *Šamši-Adad* II and *Šamši-Adad* III; and that a son of the former again bears the name *Išme-Dagân*. This is, of course, not quite accidental. In point of fact, it is an eloquent testimony that, at the time of *šú-Ninua* and his immediate successors, the thoughts of the royal house were turned with special intensity to the past periods of glory in the history of Assyria, doubtless in the hope that those times of glory might come again to Assyria. The king after whom *Ērišu* III was named was, of course, not *Ērišu* II, who was dethroned by *Šamši-Adad* I, but *Ērišu* I, even though to date we actually know nothing certain of the political events of his reign. But his extensive building activity sufficiently indicates that the power of *Aššûr* was at a peak at his time. But especially it was *Šamši-Adad* I and *Išme-Dagân* I, who in the eyes of the royal house represented a time of the greatest might of *Aššûr* and, up to their own time, of the greatest extension of the Assyrian kingdom, and it is especially instructive in that respect that each of the two brothers *Ērišu* III and *Išme-Dagân* called his son *Šamši-Adad*. *Šamši-Adad* I, after whom they were named, was the first ruler of *Aššûr* who could proudly call himself *šar kiššatim*, "king of the mighty mass (of peoples),"<sup>197</sup> and *šakin <sup>d</sup>En-lil*, "governor of Enlil," the god of dominion who is the *lugal kurkurra*, "lord of all the lands."<sup>198</sup> Similarly, *Išme-Dagân* as the heir of *Šamši-Adad*'s kingdom and, as we know from a letter of *Šamši-Adad* to his son *Iasmaḥ-Adad* in Mari, an energetic military leader, must have been a mighty and vigorous ruler—even though we know practically nothing of his deeds during his 40-year reign and although at the end

[*Šam-ši*]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* and, on the basis of this restoration, assumed that *Šamši-Adad* II was the brother of *Išme-Dagân*, *Šamši-Adad*'s father. He consequently describes *Šamši-Adad* III as a first cousin of his predecessor *Išme-Dagân* II, instead of as the son of *Išme-Dagân* II's grand-uncle.

<sup>197</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 1, l. 2 (here still without the second title *šakin Enlil*; the king reports the reconstruction of the temple of Enlil which *Ērišu* I had built); No. 5, l. 2 (together with the second title), and Thompson, AAA XIX (1932), Pl. 260A, col. 1, ll. 2 f. (time of the restoration of the Ištar temple at Nineveh), where *Šamši-Adad* even calls himself *dannum šar kiššatim*, "mighty king of the totality."

<sup>198</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 4, l. 2, and No. 5, l. 2; Thompson, *loc. cit.*, 1. 3. Note that in all these instances the title precedes that of *iššak <sup>d</sup>Aššûr* and that in IAaK, No. 5, also the predicate *pāliḥ <sup>d</sup>Dagân*, "who respectfully reveres Dagan," precedes it.

of his reign Assyria became the prey of usurpers. A similar tendency to revive the reminiscence of a glorious past, coupled with the desire to emulate its famous rulers, evidently marked the time of Ikûnu, son of Êrišu I, and his successors, as is shown by the fact that Ikûnu's son bears the name Šarru-kîn, made famous by the first king of Akkad, as well as by the fact that his great-grandson bears the name Narâm-Sîn, made famous by the fourth king of Akkad; in point of fact, in the minds of the Babylonians as well as of the Assyrians, these two kings were the most renowned rulers of the past. In a smaller way even the names of Puzur-Aššûr II and Êrišu II come under that tendency, the former as bringing to mind the founder of the ruling dynasty, and the latter, like that of Êrišu III, recalling the times of Êrišu I.

With Šamši-Adad III we reach the epoch from which—with only a few exceptions in its earlier part—the reigns of the kings of Aššûr are attested either by their own inscriptions, by references to them in the inscriptions of later rulers, especially in the genealogical parts of these inscriptions, or, finally, by references to them in chronicles, legal texts, etc.<sup>199</sup> Coincidentally it is also with Šamši-Adad, or even his predecessor, Išme-Dagân II, that the better-preserved portion of the Nassouhi king list tablet begins (lower third of col. 2 of the obverse and the two columns of the reverse). Nevertheless, we shall presently see that the damage suffered by the Nassouhi tablet even in this part, especially at the top of column 3 (= right column of the reverse), together with a wrong calculation of the missing lines, has hitherto prohibited, at least to some extent, the correct reconstruction of the names and the sequence of the kings in this section of the king list.

Šamši-Adad III's successor was Aššûr-nerâri I, son of Išme-Dagân. We have of him only the inscription KAH I, No. 62, which in spite of its shortness is quite important because in it Aššûr-nerâri gives his father Išme-Dagân the title *iššak dA-šur*. This title proves that Išme-Dagân is identical, not with Šamši-Adad III's father, who did not rule, but with King Išme-Dagân II, the predecessor of Šamši-Adad. The same conclusion can be drawn also from the fact that in our king list no qualifying apposition is added to his name. For in the tech-

<sup>199</sup> In a former section (see *JNES*, I, 302-6) we have discussed the reference by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I to Šamši-Adad III as the builder or rebuilder of the Anu-Adad temple—or probably only the Anu temple—at Aššûr.

nique of the king-list redactors this indicates that he is to be identified with the last king of that name previously mentioned in the king list. If Aššûr-nerâri's father were identical with Išme-Dagân, Šamši-Adad III's father, who is not mentioned in the list as a king, the principles followed by the scribes would have made it necessary, in order to avoid misunderstandings, either to add to his name the same appositional statements as those made in the preceding paragraph on Šamši-Adad III's father or, since Aššûr-nerâri I in this case would have been the brother of his predecessor, to designate Aššûr-nerâri I simply as "brother of Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagân," or, still shorter, as "his brother," the "his" as in all other cases referring to the immediately preceding king, i.e., to Šamši-Adad III. Note that with Aššûr-nerâri, son of Išme-Dagân II, succession to the throne returned to the Êrišu III family branch, Šamši-Adad III's 16-year reign therefore representing merely a temporary interruption of that line.<sup>200</sup>

From Aššûr-nerâri I, succession runs within this line without any break over Puzur-Aššûr III (61), Enlil-nâsir I (62), and Nûr-ili (63) to Aššûr-šadûni (64).<sup>201</sup> The last-named was king only one month,<sup>202</sup> whereupon, as is expressly stated in the king list, he was dethroned by Aššûr-rabi I (65), who, like Nûr-ili, Aššûr-šadûni's father, was a son of Enlil-nâsir I and therefore an uncle of Aššûr-šadûni. The year 1430 B.C., in which this dethronement of Aššûr-šadûni occurred (only a month after his father's death), must have been a veritable year of calamities for Aššûr and its royal house. For, as has been established in a former section of this report<sup>203</sup> neither Aššûr-rabi I nor even his son and immediate successor Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê I (66), ruled to the end of that year,<sup>204</sup> so that the accession to the throne of the next king, Enlil-nâsir II, a second son of Aššûr-rabi, also fell still within the year.

<sup>200</sup> For a similar temporary interruption of the ruling line by Aššûr-rim-nišešu (70) and his son Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê II (71), see later.

<sup>201</sup> Copied and read by Nassouhi (4th line from the end of col. 2 of his copy and top of p. 6) = *Aš-šur-šad-qâ[bi]*.

<sup>202</sup> *1 araḫ ûmdu-te*. Nassouhi interpreted the preserved signs of his list as *[x] umē...* . . . , "[x] days" ("quelques jours" in annotation to ll. 40 f.; "wenige Tage," Weidner, *AOF*, IV, 16).

<sup>203</sup> See *JNES*, I, 288 ff., 293, and 296, n. 130.

<sup>204</sup> In the Khorsabad list the statements on the length of their reigns are broken off, but, as shown by our calculations, the list must have had the *dun-pi-šû šarru-ta ê uḡ-uš* formula in either of the two cases.

This year consequently saw five kings, namely, Nûr-ili, Aššûr-šadûni, Aššûr-rabi I, Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, and Enlil-nâsir I. Since Aššûr-šadûni's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father ruled only 14, 13, and 12 years, respectively, he may have been quite young when he ascended the throne, and probably this circumstance made it possible and easy for Aššûr-rabi to depose his nephew. But as to an explanation of the fact that Aššûr-rabi was also king at the most only a few months and possibly less than a month, not even a hint from the inscriptions or from any other source is available. Since, however, the king list does not—as in the case of Aššûr-šadûni—state that he was dethroned by his son and successor Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, one might believe that the unexpected change of reign was caused by his death, no matter whether he died from natural causes<sup>205</sup> or whether he was killed.<sup>206</sup> Corresponding conclusions, for the same reasons, could be drawn concerning Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I and his short reign. It is noteworthy, however, that the king-list statement dealing with his successor, though not saying that Enlil-nâsir II dethroned Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê, nevertheless makes the express remark—quite unique in the king list without the deposition phrase—that “Enlil-nâsir, his brother, seated himself on the throne.” The purpose of this unusual statement can only be to indicate Enlil-nâsir ascended the throne by passing over the legal right to the throne of the son or the sons of Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê.

None of the three rulers, Aššûr-šadûni, Aššûr-rabi I, and Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, are represented by inscriptions of their own. This, of course, is to be expected, for because of the shortness of their reign and in view of the troubled times in which they ascended the throne, they could hardly think of erecting new buildings or of making some object to be dedicated to a deity. But to date we likewise have no inscription from the 12-year reign of Nûr-ili (1441–1430) (63), or from

<sup>205</sup> In view of the fact that not only he himself but also his son Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I ruled only a very short time, one could well imagine that both he and his son perhaps might have become victims of the plague or some other epidemic disease so frequently overtaking the eastern countries.

<sup>206</sup> In this case one may perhaps suppose that the killing was engineered by a party opposed to Aššûr-rabi and his family, and probably adhering to the Nûr-ili family, but that the Aššûr-rabi family nevertheless succeeded in placing Aššûr-rabi's son Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê on the throne.

the 6-year reign of Enlil-nâsir II (1429–1424). Perhaps this indicates that their reigns, too, were not free from troubles, that of Nûr-ili perhaps because he already had to battle with the opposition party with whose help probably Aššûr-rabi succeeded in usurping the throne shortly after Nûr-ili's death. That neither Nûr-ili nor Aššûr-šadûni is mentioned in the genealogies of later kings is, of course, not to be wondered at, since no descendant of theirs ascended the throne. In the light of our previous deliberations, this fact might perhaps indicate that no member of the Nûr-ili family survived the disturbances referred to above.

By a strange fate Enlil-nâsir II, too, after his 6-year reign is not followed by a son of his, but by his brother, Aššûr-nerâri II (68) (1423–1417), a third son of Aššûr-rabi I. The Khorsabad list,<sup>207</sup> to be sure, makes Aššûr-nerâri the son of Enlil-nâsir II, but there can be no doubt whatever that the Khorsabad list is wrong in this point, since in their genealogies the three kings, Aššûr-rîm-nišešu (70), son of Aššûr-nerâri II,<sup>208</sup> Eriba-Adad I (72), grandson of Aššûr-nerâri II<sup>209</sup> and Aššûr-uballiṭ I (73), great-grandson of Aššûr-nerâri II,<sup>210</sup> all designate their father or ancestor Aššûr-nerâri II as the son of Aššûr-rabi. The mistake in the king list is quite interesting, because it testifies to an inclination, of course quite unconscious, on the part of the copying scribes to extend the usual father-son relationship between a king and his immediate successor to cases where that relationship actually did not exist.<sup>211</sup> As we shall presently see, exactly the same mistake is made in the case of King Aššûr-rîm-nišešu (70), who, although actually the brother of his predecessor Aššûr-bêl-nišešu, appears as his son in our king list. In this latter case we are able to observe that the

<sup>207</sup> In the Nassouhi list the passage relating to Aššûr-nerâri II is totally destroyed.

<sup>208</sup> KAH I, No. 63, ll. 1–5.

<sup>209</sup> KAH I, No. 25, obv.

<sup>210</sup> KAH I, No. 27, obv., ll. 1–12.

<sup>211</sup> How natural this inclination was may be judged from the fact that even modern scholars have sometimes unguardedly shown a propensity in actually dubious cases to regard the immediate successor of a king as his son. For instance, Nassouhi, as pointed out above, believed the usurper Lullaiju to be the son of his predecessor Bazaiju, and šû-Ninua to be the son of Lullaiju. Vice versa, Weidner, as we shall see, believed Aššûr-rabi to be the immediate predecessor of Aššûr-nerâri II (Weidner's Adad-nerâri III) because this king, according to the genealogies in the inscriptions of later rulers, was his son.

Nassouhi list, nearly two centuries older, the text of which fortunately is sufficiently preserved at this point,<sup>212</sup> shows the same mistake; and, judging from this fact, it would not be impossible that it had the mistake concerning Aššūr-nerāri II's relationship to Enlil-nāšir also. In point of fact the mistake may have been much older than the Nassouhi list. The recopying of the mistake by the scribe of the Khorsabad list almost two hundred years later is quite in harmony with the principle observable in the whole Assyrian and Babylonian literature, namely, that the copying scribes might not permit themselves any correction of the text even in cases where they plainly saw that it contained a material error. Such intentionally faithful recopying, however, will of course have had the effect that the mistake of the king list concerning the father of Adad-nerāri in the course of time became, as it were, an officially recognized view.<sup>212a</sup>

How the new information furnished by the Khorsabad list affects the views hitherto held concerning the sequence of Assyrian kings in this period (even after the publication of the Nassouhi list) may best be shown by the following juxtaposition of Weidner's kings as enumerated by him in AOf IV, 16, and the kings as enumerated in the Khorsabad list.

| WEIDNER               |                 | KHORSABAD LIST                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
|                       | Regnal<br>Years |                                      | Regnal<br>Years |
| 64. Aššuršadābē       | 0               | 64. Aššūr-šadūni                     | 0               |
| son of Nūri           |                 | son of Nūr-ili                       |                 |
| Aššurnirāri II        | 9               | 65. Aššūr-rabi I                     | 0               |
| son of Enlilnāšir I   |                 | son of Enlil-nāšir I                 |                 |
| Puzur-Aššur IV        | 9               | 66. Aššūr-nādin-ahhē I               | 0               |
| son of Aššurnirāri II |                 | son of Aššūr-rabi I                  |                 |
| Enlilnāšir II         | 9               | 67. Enlil-nāšir II                   | 6               |
| son of Puzur-Aššur IV |                 | son of Aššūr-rabi                    |                 |
| 65. Aššurrabi I       | 9               | 68. Aššūr-nerāri II                  | 7               |
| son of . . . .        |                 | son of Enlil-nāšir II <sup>213</sup> |                 |
| 68. Aššurnirāri III   | 9               |                                      |                 |
| son of Aššurrabi      |                 |                                      |                 |

<sup>212</sup> Near top of col. 3.

<sup>212a</sup> For a possible indication, however, that the mistake was restricted to the Khorsabad list, see below *ad* Adad-nerāri I.

<sup>213</sup> Mistake for "brother of Enlil-nāšir" (= son of Aššūr-rabi).

Weidner's second, third, and fourth kings actually represent duplications of the three consecutive earlier kings, Aššūr-nerāri I (60), son of Išme-Dagān II; Puzur-Aššūr III (61), son of Aššūr-nerāri I; and Enlil-nāšir I (62), son of Puzur-Aššūr III. The seeming correspondence between Weidner's Aššūr-nerāri II and the Aššūr-nerāri II of the king list (each of them the son of an Enlil-nāšir), as well as the seeming correspondence between Weidner's Enlil-nāšir II and that of the king list, is merely a coincidence. Of Weidner's four kings between Aššūr-šadūni and Aššūr-nerāri II, there remains therefore only Aššūr-rabi I, who, however, is not the fourth but the immediate successor of Aššūr-šadūni.

For the period from Aššūr-nerāri II (68) to Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), the last king of the older Adasi dynasty, the names, the sequence, and—with just one exception—the genealogy of the kings had been well established before the discovery of our king list. For this reason only a general outline of the succession with a few remarks on some details seems necessary here.

It has already been mentioned that in the Khorsabad list, as well as in the older Nassouhi list, Aššūr-rīm-nišēšu (70), the second successor of Aššūr-nerāri II (68), is erroneously designated as son of his immediate predecessor, Aššūr-bēl-nišēšu (69). From his own inscription (KAHI I, No. 63, l. 3), however, we know that he was the son of Aššūr-nerāri II (68) and, therefore, a brother of his predecessor, Aššūr-bēl-nišēšu (69).

Wrong also is the designation of Adad-nerāri I (76) in the present text of the Khorsabad list as the brother of his predecessor Arik-dēn-ili (78), since Adad-nerāri's own inscriptions as well as those of his son Šulmānu-ašarēd I (77) show that he was the son of Arik-dēn-ili. The misstatement of the Khorsabad list must seem especially strange, because the Nassouhi list correctly designates Adad-nerāri as *mār Arik-dēn-ili* and because originally the Khorsabad list, too, had the correct *mār* "Arik-dēn-ili, the *aḫū-šū* of its present *aḫū-šū ša* "Arik-dēn-ili being written over an erased *nirāri* at the end of the left half-line, while the *ša* is written over an erased *mār* at the beginning of the right half-line. Since one cannot imagine any reason that could have compelled the copyist to change the correct "son of" to "brother of,"

it seems quite certain that the change was made by mistake. To all appearances the following is what happened. When the copyist had noticed that in the statement on Aššûr-nerâri II (68) he had erroneously written *mâr* <sup>m</sup>*Enlil-nâsir* instead of *aḫû-šû* (or *aḫû-šû ša* <sup>m</sup>*Enlil-nâsir*), he tried to emend this mistake by changing the incorrect *mâr* to a correct *aḫû-šû ša*, but inadvertently he strayed into the statement on Adad-nerâri I and changed the there quite correct *mâr* to the wrong *aḫû-šû ša*. His attempt at eliminating one mistake thus actually resulted in adding a second mistake to the one made before.

The 8-year reign of Aššûr-rim-nišešu and the 10-year reign of his son, Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê II (71), only temporarily interrupted the straight line of succession over Aššûr-bêl-nišešu, for Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê is succeeded by Eriba-Adad I (72), son of Aššûr-bêl-nišešu. From him the dynastic line extends in straight succession over Aššûr-uballiṭ (73), Enlil-nerâri (74), Arik-dên-ili (75), Adad-nerâri I (76), Šulmânuašarêd I (77), and Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) to Aššûr-nâdin-apli (79). According to the Nassouhi list, it would even extend to the next king, Aššûr-nerâri III (80), <sup>214</sup> since it is stated there that this king was the son of Aššûr-nâdin-apli. As such, he appears therefore also in Weidner's list, AOf IV, 16. However, the Khorsabad list states that he was the son of an Aš[šûr]-nâsir<sup>215</sup>-apli. As we shall see presently, this Aššûr-nâsir-apli might well be a second son of Tukulti-Ninurta, and Aššûr-nerâri III would then be a nephew of his predecessor, Aššûr-nâdin-apli. Aššûr-nerâri III again is succeeded not by a son of his but by his uncle, Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), a third son of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

The statement devoted to Aššûr-nâdin-apli runs as follows: "Still in Tukulti-Ninurta's lifetime (= <sup>m</sup>*Tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta da-a-ri*) his son Aššûr-nâdin-apli seized the throne. Three years (Nassouhi list: four years) he exercised kingship." Instead of *da-a-ri*, "although he was still alive," Nassouhi in his list restored *da-a-i[k]* (AOf IV, 7) and translated the whole introductory phrase "*Tukulti-Ninurta fut tu[é]*" (*ibid.*, p. 8), but the photographs show that his list, too, has *da-a-ri*.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Weidner: Aššurnarâri IV.

<sup>215</sup> Written with the sign PAB (AOf, IV, 7).

<sup>216</sup> In addition to the horizontal wedge of *ri*, one can plainly see in the photographs not only the two forward verticals of that sign but also the upper half of its third—a little more remote—vertical, as well as the rim of the head of the slanting wedge between the two

The correct reading of the phrase is historically not without importance, for, according to Nassouhi's restoration, it would seem that Aššûr-nâdin-apli ascended the throne *after* Tukulti-Ninurta had been killed, while we now have the express statement that, when Aššûr-nâdin-apli seized the throne, his father was still living. Furthermore, the mere use of a phrase meaning "still in his lifetime" proves that after the seizure of the throne by Aššûr-nâdin-apli Tukulti-Ninurta must still have lived for some time, and this, indeed, is in complete accord with the report of Chronicle P, which describes the events immediately before and after the overthrow of Tukulti-Ninurta as occurring in the following four phases: (1) Aššûr-nâsir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, and the (other) great men of Assyria revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta; (2) they dethrone him; (3) they make him a prisoner (and keep him a prisoner for some time) in a house in Tukulti-Ninurta's newly built residence, Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta; (4) they (finally) kill him. It is quite obvious that the statement *ina Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta ina bîti isirâšu* must be interpreted as we just did: "They kept him a prisoner in a house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta (for some time or at first)," since only in this interpretation does it make good sense, while if Tukulti-Ninurta had been killed immediately or shortly after his dethronement the whole statement that "they confined him in a house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta" would be totally out of place.<sup>217</sup>

According to Chronicle P, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, who together

first verticals and the last. Note, moreover, that a form written *da-a-ik* could be only the endingless form of the present participle *dâ'iku* and would therefore mean "he was killing," while the permansive form *da'ik*, *da(i)jik* or, contracted, *dêk*, of which Nassouhi evidently was thinking, would be written *da-ik*, *da-a(i)ji-ik* (= *da-a.ik*) or *di-e-ik*, respectively.

The meaning of *dârû* (< *dârtu*, a derivative of *dâru*, "period," "long period"), literally "being of a long period," i.e., "living or lasting an age," "living a long time," "living on and on," is here weakened to "lasting," "living on," "still living." *Dâri* is the predicatively used endingless form of *dârû* (< *dârtu*).

Since Bezold's *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* gives, among other meanings of *dârû*, also that of "uralt," one might perhaps be tempted to translate the phrase with "when Tukulti-Ninurta was an extremely old man." But the meaning connected by Bezold with "uralt" is not that of "very aged" (as referring to a person) but that of "very primeval," "dating from a very old period."

<sup>217</sup> The "house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta" is of course not, as Weidner in AOf, IV, 13, a sumes, the "palace" of Tukulti-Ninurta in that city.

with the nobles of Assyria revolted against the latter and dethroned him, bore the name of Aššūr-nāšir-apli. On the basis of this statement it had originally been generally assumed that this Aššūr-nāšir-apli—assumedly the first of his name—was the successor of Tukulti-Ninurta on the throne of Aššūr. But when subsequently the Nassouhi list revealed the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta's immediate successor was his son Aššūr-nādin-apli, whose name and reign can be verified from two inscriptions of his, and that even after Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē no king Aššūr-nāšir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, is mentioned in the king list, it seemed a very plausible assumption that the Aššūr-nāšir-apli of Chronicle P was a scribal error for Aššūr-nādin-apli,<sup>218</sup> and this could seem all the more plausible because Chronicle P as well as the Synchronistic History actually was very careless with proper names.<sup>219</sup> But with the new fact that the Khorsabad list gives the name of the father of Aššūr-nādin-apli's successor, Aššūr-nerāri III, again as Aššūr-nāšir-apli and not, as the Nassouhi list has it, as Aššūr-nādin-apli, the problem becomes of course much more intricate. For if the name Aššūr-nāšir-apli is to be considered as wrong, it would now become necessary to assume that the same error was committed—as far as we can see, independently—on two different occasions as well as in two different localities. For in one case the mistake occurs in the account of the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's career, while in the other case it concerns the name of the father of Tukulti-Ninurta's second successor. But of even greater weight is the fact that Chronicle P is a Babylonian product, while the king list was produced in Assyria, and it would be difficult to explain why scribes in the two countries should have been led to the same mistake. Moreover, there is actually no conclusive proof whatever for the assumption that the Aššūr-nāšir-apli of Chronicle P and the successor of Tukulti-Ninurta are the same person, nor does the wording of the report of Chronicle P or the wording of the

<sup>218</sup> So Weidner, AOf, IV, 13 and n. 6.

<sup>219</sup> Note, e.g., that, in the immediate continuation of the passage relating to Tukulti-Ninurta, Chronicle P refers to an Assyrian king, Tukulti-Aššūr, whose name, at least in this form, is not found in the king list. As Weidner suggests, he is probably Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. Chronicle P is a Babylonian composition, and it may quite well be that the Babylonians abbreviated the long name by omitting the first element. But the use of such an abbreviated name would have to be counted as an irregularity in a historical composition such as Chronicle P.

king-list statement contain anything requiring such an identification. The chronicle states that Aššūr-nāšir-apli and the Assyrian nobles dethroned Tukulti-Ninurta, kept him a prisoner, and finally killed him, but it does not state that Aššūr-nāšir-apli ascended or seized the throne. The king list, on the other hand, states that Aššūr-nādin-apli seized the throne, but it does not state or even imply that he revolted against Tukulti-Ninurta, kept him a prisoner, and finally killed him. It is therefore quite possible that Aššūr-nādin-apli and Aššūr-nāšir-apli are two different sons of Tukulti-Ninurta. As stated in Chronicle P, it may quite well have been Aššūr-nāšir-apli who revolted against Tukulti-Ninurta, although not he, but his brother, Aššūr-nādin-apli, became king, be it that the latter seized the throne in opposition to Aššūr-nāšir-apli and the revolting nobles, or be it that he became king in full accord with Aššūr-nāšir-apli or even was placed on the throne by him, possibly being the older or even the eldest brother and therefore having the first claim to the throne.<sup>220</sup> This Aššūr-nāšir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, would then, of course, be identical with the Aššūr-nāšir-apli whose son Aššūr-nerāri III (according to the Khorsabad king list) ascended the throne after Aššūr-nādin-apli. For these assumptions too, no really conclusive proof is available, but it may be argued in their favor that, in the past, attempts at solving problems without resorting to the assumption of mistakes in the sources have usually turned out to be nearer the truth than those operating with the assumption of such mistakes. Even arguing on the basis of psychological observations would seem to favor the explanation just hinted, for, if we assume that the Khorsabad list is correct in its statement that the father of Aššūr-nerāri III was Aššūr-nāšir-apli the change of the name to Aššūr-nādin-apli in the Nassouhi list could readily be explained as another instance of the unconscious tendency of the copying scribes to make a king's successor his son even when he actually was not his son. But if we are to assume that the Nassouhi list is correct in its statement that Aššūr-nerāri III's father was his predecessor Aššūr-nādin-apli, it would be very difficult to imagine what might have in-

<sup>220</sup> In harmony with this possibility would be the fact that the name of the older (eldest) brother is compounded with *nādin-apli*, while that of the younger is a compound with *nāšir-apli*. The heir must be "given" first, before he can be "watched over."

duced the copying scribe to change that name to Aššūr-nāšir-apli. In this connection it is especially significant that in the Khorsabad list the sign PAB, with which the scribe wrote the second component of the name Aššūr-nāšir-apli, is written over an erasure. Although the erased sign is not recognizable, it can be assumed with good reason that it was the sign *sî* = *nādin*. The copying scribe of the Khorsabad list would then probably have made the same mistake as the scribe of the Nassouhi list or the scribe of one of the king-list specimens from which the Nassouhi list derived, but he corrected the mistake when he or another scribe, who checked the correctness of the copy, noticed it.<sup>221</sup> This emendation proves, of course, that the name Aššūr-nāšir-apli was found by the scribe of the Khorsabad list on the Aššūr tablet from which he copied his own list. He himself would, of course, have had no reason to change an Aššūr-nādin-apli, if the Aššūr list had given this name, into Aššūr-nāšir-apli.

An apparently weighty argument in favor of the Nassouhi list statement, however, seems to be the fact that the king list gives the name of Aššūr-nerāri III's father without adding a further explanatory statement for the purpose of unmistakably establishing his identity. As a rule, the king list makes no statement of that kind whenever the father of a king is identical with the last-mentioned king, but in the case of Išme-Dagān the father of Šamši-Adad III (59), who was not a king of Assyria, it will be recalled, such a statement is added, namely, the statement that this father of Šamši-Adad III was the brother of Šarma-Adad—son of šú-Nīnua. It would seem, therefore, that if the Khorsabad king-list statement that Aššūr-nerāri's father was Aššūr-nāšir-apli, who is not mentioned before as king of Assyria, were correct, it should be followed by a further statement elucidating his relationship to the kings preceding Aššūr-nerāri. Since this statement is not added, it would appear that the correct text of the king list should name Aššūr-nādin-apli, the immediate predecessor of Aššūr-nerāri III,

<sup>221</sup> The fact that the same mistake was made by two different scribes—one living about two hundred years before the other—would in this case be in no way remarkable, since each king-list copyist, no matter when and where he lived, was likely to be affected by the tendency described above.

as the latter's father, for whom such a statement would not be necessary.

But plausible as this argument seems, it is not strictly conclusive, since the explanatory statement concerning the relationship of Aššūr-nerāri's father to one of the previous kings originally may not have been added because at that time the name of Aššūr-nāšir-apli was so well known that it needed no explanation. In the following periods, however, no scribe ever took upon himself the trouble of adding such a statement or ever dared to do so, even though, as shown by both lists, the omission of this statement would naturally lead to mistaking Aššūr-nādin-apli for Aššūr-nāšir-apli. Moreover, the case of Aššūr-nāšir-apli, father of Aššūr-nerāri III, is perhaps not entirely parallel with that of Išme-Dagān, father of Šamši-Adad III, inasmuch as the former, as we shall see, probably was the ruler of a principality or small "kingdom," while Išme-Dagān, the father of Šamši-Adad III, probably was no more than a member of the royal family. As a ruler, however, Aššūr-nāšir-apli needed no further identification, no more than, e.g., Ilu-kapkapu, the father of Šamši-Adad I, all necessary information probably being available from chronicles, etc.

There is, of course, hardly any need to state expressly that no decisive argument in favor of the Nassouhi list statement can be derived from the fact that Assur A is almost two hundred years older than the Khorsabad list tablet. If the name Aššūr-nāšir-apli of the Khorsabad list is correct, its change to Aššūr-nādin-apli would have been due, as pointed out above, to the propensity of the copyists to make every king the son of his predecessor, and since this propensity is quite independent of time, it could, of course, at any time have become the cause for a copyist to make the erroneous change of Aššūr-nāšir-apli to Aššūr-nādin-apli. The situation would, of course, be different, if we knew for certain that all older copies of the king list gave the name of Aššūr-nerāri's father as Aššūr-nādin-apli, but to date we have only the testimony of the Nassouhi list and must therefore reckon with the possibility that if the Nassouhi list's Aššūr-nādin-apli is a mistake, it might quite well have been restricted to just that one list.

If thus all logical deliberations seem to point to the correctness of the Khorsabad king-list statement, it must nevertheless be kept in

mind that these deliberations do not have the value of direct and authentic evidence, inasmuch as it would not be beyond all possibility that by some queer coincidence and in a manner now logically no longer accountable an original Aššūr-nâdin-apli was changed to Aššūr-nâsir-apli both in Chronicle P and in the king-list statement on Aššūr-nerârî III. For a final decision we therefore must wait until good luck places at our disposal an inscription of Adad-nerârî III or some other document containing a decisive statement on the problem in question.

It has been indicated that there is a discrepancy between the Nassouhi list and the Khorsabad list in the regnal years attributed to Aššūr-nâdin-apli, inasmuch as the former gives him 4, but the latter only 3, years.<sup>222</sup> For our chronological calculations we have hitherto used only the Khorsabad list statement, but it should be stated that in case the 4 years of the Nassouhi list should turn out to be correct, all dates of our calculations before 1202 B.C. would have to be raised by one unit, except, of course, those based on the statements of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, since the basic years on which the dates in these instances depend, namely, the years 681 B.C. and 1115 B.C., are both later than 1202 and therefore are not affected by that discrepancy. Acceptance of the Nassouhi list statement would mean therefore that the first year of Êrišu I as well as the first year of the *limmu* era which begins with Êrišu I's first year, is to be assumed as 1853 B.C. instead of 1852 B.C.<sup>223</sup> This advance of the *limmu* period date would actually be a great advantage for our calculations, since then Šulmânu-ašarêd's period of 159 years, reckoned from the beginning of the *limmu* era to the completion of the Aššūr temple by Šamši-Adad I, would end with the same year, 1695, with which Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's first period of 126 years, reckoned from Êrišu I's completion

<sup>222</sup> By an accident this fact was omitted in n. 113, on p. 288 above, and its omission went unnoticed until after the issue of the *Journal* number.

<sup>223</sup> Of other changes may be mentioned the following: the year 1820, with which Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's first period of 126 years begins, would be the 34th instead of the 33d year of Êrišu, and consequently the completion of Êrišu's Aššūr temple would fall in his 33d year instead of his 32d year. Similarly, the year 1261, in which Šulmânu-ašarêd I, according to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's figures, completed the reconstruction of his Aššūr temple, would be Šulmânu-ašarêd's 13th year instead of his 12th year, the period from the beginning of the reconstruction to its completion thereby increasing from 12 years to 13 years. For the year equations relating to Šamši-Adad I's reconstruction of the Aššūr temple see below.

of his Aššūr temple to the completion of Šamši-Adad's temple, begins. In point of fact, this complete agreement would seem to prove the correctness of the Nassouhi list statement over against the Khorsabad list statement, and it would therefore seem necessary to adopt for our chronological calculations not the Khorsabad but the Nassouhi list statement. This reasoning, however, is not so conclusive as it would seem on the surface. For we do not know whether Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's period of 580 years (reckoned from Šulmânu-ašarêd to his own time) is based on a king list attributing 4 years to Aššūr-nâdin-apli or on a king list giving him only 3 years. Since Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's scribes, of course, used a king list for their calculations, the problem thus naturally reverts to the question whether the Khorsabad king list group with its 3 years, or the Nassouhi list group with its 4 years for Aššūr-nâdin-apli, is correct. Note that, under the assumption that Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's scribes used a list of the Nassouhi group, the same complete agreement of the Aššūr-aḫa-iddina date for Šamši-Adad I with that based on the Khorsabad list plus the Šulmânu-ašarêd I statements would result, if the number 580 for Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's last period is reduced by one year to 579 years. Unfortunately, the recovered portions of the great *limmu* list (KAVI, Nos. 21 ff.) do not contain the *limmu*'s of Aššūr-nâdin-apli,<sup>224</sup> and therefore the best means of checking up on the correctness of the Nassouhi or the Khorsabad list is not available. Nor do arguments on a psychological basis help us in this case, since they can be offered pro and contra the statements of both lists. For instance, one could allege that in copying numbers some people have a propensity for counting involuntarily on to the next higher number, a habit that might well account for a 3 being changed to a 4, while no similar explanation could be given for a 4 changing to 3. But, on the other hand, one could well imagine that a scribe intending to write in cuneiform the number 4 simply forgot to make the fourth wedge underneath the upper row of three wedges, the result being naturally a 3. It is, finally, here quite impossible to approach the very intricate question to what extent the Babylonian chronology of the period may be used to shed some light on the problem, since this

<sup>224</sup> In the *limmu* lists all the *limmu*'s of the time between the first years of Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) and the last years of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (87) are still missing.

would go far beyond the limits set for this report. However annoying the small difference of one year is for our endeavor to establish a settled king-list chronology, the problem for the present must therefore be left as it is.<sup>225</sup>

[To be concluded]

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<sup>225</sup> For the purpose of making more conspicuous the possibility of a complete harmonization of the statements by Aššūr-āḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarēd I, it may, however, seem advisable to give in the final publication of the king list—of course, with the necessary reservation—the year numbers on the basis of the Nassouhi list statement and consequently according to a *limmu* era beginning with 1853 B.C. There is, of course, no guaranty that any new king list might not show other deviations in its numbers, thus again starting—at least in cases where no effective check is possible—a problem. In this connection it may also be mentioned that, as will be shown later, under ordinary circumstances the *limmu* period of a king began one year later than the king's reign and that, if this was the custom already at Erišu I's time, we would have to face the problem of identifying the year 1852 or 1853 either with the first year of Erišu I's reign or with the first year of his *limmu* period. As has been pointed out before, a chronology absolutely reliable in all details and conclusively provable as such will be arrived at only when all regnal years of the king list can be verified by *limmu* lists or other historical sources.

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## THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD—Concluded\*

E. THE YOUNGER LINE OF THE ADASI DYNASTY

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THE revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta, the fact that neither the successor of Aššūr-nādin-apli nor that of Aššūr-nerāri III was the son of his predecessor, and the comparative shortness of the reigns of the three kings—their regnal years total only 14 (or 15) years—all make us realize that in this period Assyria was far removed from the display of power at the time when Tukulti-Ninurta ruled not only over Assyria but over Babylonia too. The most significant indication of this fact, however, may be found in the remarkable letter, Harper, ABL, No. 924, which is addressed by the Babylonian King Adad-šumu-linnašir<sup>226</sup> to <sup>4</sup>Aš-šur-na-ra-ra, i.e., our King Aššūr-nerāri III, and a certain <sup>4</sup>Nabû-da-a-[an]. For while the Babylonian claims for himself the rank of a *šarru rabû*, "great king," "*Grosskönig*,"<sup>227</sup> and *šarru dannu*, "mighty king," he gives the two recipients of the letter no other than the rather derogative

\* See JNES, I, No. 3 (July, 1942), 247–306, and *ibid.*, No. 4 (October, 1942), 460–92.

<sup>226</sup> This reading of the name <sup>4</sup>Adad-*mu-šeš-ir* not only is grammatically unobjectionable but makes good sense, its meaning being: "O Adad, may (my) offspring (literally: name) be guarded (=shielded [from all evil])." A reading <sup>4</sup>Adad-šuma-nāšir is of course syntactically impossible, while a reading <sup>4</sup>Adad-šumu-našir, "O Adad, my offspring has been watched, does not present a good meaning, since the purpose of informing or reminding the god during the whole life of the bearer of the name, that the offspring has been guarded (by whom?) would be rather unintelligible. For names of the same type as Adad-šumu-linnašir cf. <sup>4</sup>Nabû-šum-mu(or šu-me)-li-bur, "O Nabû, may my offspring become strong"; <sup>4</sup>Nabû-šumu-lil-bir, "O Nabû, may my offspring attain great age"; <sup>4</sup>Nabû-zêru-li-ši-ir, "O Nabû, may my offspring prosper" (all in Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*), etc.

<sup>227</sup> Or, in modern language, "emperor."

title "the [small] kings of Assyria."<sup>228</sup> Moreover, the Babylonian king begins his letter by telling them plainly and in many words that, in making certain demands or refusing to fulfil certain obligations, they must have been either drunk or crazy.

Formerly it had been assumed that the Nabû-dân mentioned in the letter held the position of a vizier, etc., at the court of Aššūr, and that designating both Aššūr-nerāri and Nabû-dân as kings of Assyria was merely a derisive allusion to the supposed fact that King Aššūr-nerāri could do nothing without the consent of his vizier. But there is no proof whatever for this interpretation, and it seems much more probable that Nabû-dân actually was a "king,"<sup>229</sup> of course, not in the city of Aššūr but in some other part of Assyria. Permitting ourselves to speculate, we may very well assume that the revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta led to the partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or, if one prefers, principalities, one of which might quite well have fallen to each of the three sons of Tukulti-Ninurta, namely, Aššūr-nādin-apli, Aššūr-nāšir-apli, and Enlil-kudurra-ušur, while still another one fell to Nabû-dân, who likewise may have played an important part in the revolt. This partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or principalities does not mean, of course, that there was no longer any link between them. In point of

<sup>228</sup> This restoration of the partly broken title seems to me the most plausible and best fitting.

<sup>229</sup> So also Weidner, *MVAG* XX (1915), Heft 4, 76.

fact it may be taken as certain that some kind of suzerainty over the other principalities was left to the king residing at Aššūr. In this connection it is quite interesting to observe that Aššūr-nādin-apli in his inscription, AOf VI, 13 (obv., l. 4), styles himself "king of kings," a title quite rare in that period, found before him to date only in the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, Aššūr-nādin-apli's father, CT 36, 8–12, where in column 1, lines 3–5, it is coupled with the similar titles, or rather glorifying predicates, "lord of lords" and "prince of princes." Weidner, believing that the title in Aššūr-nādin-apli's time was meaningless, assumed that it was merely taken over from Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions.<sup>230</sup> But in the light of the foregoing observations we may at least ask whether the title did not gain a special significance by the partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or principalities, the occupants of which owed allegiance to Aššūr-nādin-apli.

Continuing our speculations still further, we may assume that very soon the king of Aššūr and the ambitious among the other rulers of Assyria tried to extend their control beyond the boundaries of their own territories, for this might readily explain the fact that Aššūr-nādin-apli at Aššūr was followed by Aššūr-nerāri III, Aššūr-nāšir-apli's son (according to the Khorsabad list), and that this king again was followed by Enlil-kudurra-ušur, a third son of Tukulti-Ninurta. With the succession of Enlil-kudurra-ušur to the throne of Aššūr, therefore, evidently three of the small kingdoms were already in the hands of that king, but we shall presently see that he finally took possession also of Nabû-dân's principality.

Evidently it was the successful recovery of control over the whole of Assyria, and especially, it seems, the occu-

pation of Nabû-dân's principality, that finally led to Enlil-kudurra-ušur's downfall. It is likely that 15 or 16 years earlier—in his own 15th or 14th year<sup>231</sup>—Adad-šumu-linnašir of Karduniaš supported the revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta or that he at least favored the partition of Assyria into small kingdoms, since this was to the advantage of his own country. Be this as it may, the reunification of Assyria and the consequent increase of its power could be eyed by Adad-šumu-linnašir only with suspicion and fear. To all appearances it was therefore the seizure of the last independent kingdom, that of Nabû-dân, that gave cause to the war reported in the so-called Synchronistic History (CT 34, 42: K4401b) as follows:

Enlil-kudurra-ušur, king of Assyria, and <sup>4</sup>[Adad-šumu-linnašir]<sup>232</sup> waged war [against each other]. When (both) Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Ad[ad-šumu-linnašir] had been killed<sup>233</sup> in a battle [in front of Aššūr(?)], Ninurta-apil-E[kur, son of Nabû-dân], returned to his land,

<sup>231</sup> According to Babylonian King List A, Adad-šumu-linnašir ruled 30 years. Since the three successors of Tukulti-Ninurta ruled 15 (Khorsabad list) or 16 years (Nassouhi list), and since Adad-šumu-linnašir died in the same year as Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Tukulti-Ninurta's last year corresponded to Adad-šumu-linnašir's 15th or 14th year.

<sup>232</sup> Since the missing end portion of the line must have contained Adad-šumu-linnašir's name plus the words *itti aḫameš*, "with each other," no room seems to be left for the title *šar mākār-du-ni-ja-aš* after Adad-šumu-linnašir. This proves that Adad-šumu-linnašir was already mentioned in the preceding paragraph—there, of course, with his title—as having had to deal with one of Enlil-kudurra-ušur's predecessors. Of that paragraph only the first parts of the last two lines are preserved.

<sup>233</sup> The temporal subordination (*Vorzeitigkeit*) is expressed by the *t* of *tidūku* (<*tdūku* instead of *tdūku*), which therefore is, of course, the syntactical *t* (see my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 30, n. 1). The permissive form expresses not the idea "they were killed" but the idea "they had been killed and were dead (at the time when the subsequent event took place)." The passage, as one sees, says nothing of a *Zweikampf* between the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings (Weidner, *MVG* XX [1915], Heft 4, 76, n. 1, and before him Winckler, Hommel, and Schnabel [references given by Weidner, *loc. cit.*]; Nassouhi, AOf IV, 9: "Enlilkudurušur et Rammanšumnāšir . . . se tuèrent").

<sup>230</sup> AOf VI, 15.

his own<sup>234</sup> soldiers [he summoned], to Aššūr, in order to (re-)conquer it, he march[ed] and the commander of the Babylonians he thoroughly defeated in its midst. (Thereupon) he (=the Babylonian general) turned around and [went back to his land].

As I interpret this passage, it tells us—at least by implication—that although Adad-šumu-linnašir, like his adversary, Enlil-kudurra-ušur, lost his life in the battle between the Assyrians and the Babylonians, the latter were victorious and succeeded in occupying the capital of Assyria. It also gives us valuable detailed information on the manner in which Ninurta-apil-Ekur, whom the king list mentions as Enlil-kudurra-ušur's successor, managed to take advantage of the events and seize the city of Aššūr for himself. In comparison with it the king-list statement:

Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of 'Nabû-. . . .'], a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Karduniaš. From Karduniaš he went up. The throne he seized. 3 (Assur A: 13) years kingship he exercised,

gives only scanty information concerning these events, but it contains the important statements that the future king went to Karduniaš—this is simply another way of saying that he fled there—and that from there he came back in order to seize the throne. Of the more explicit statements of the Synchronistic History the one especially significant is that which tells us that after the death of Adad-šumu-linnašir, in whose retinue he probably was, Ninurta-apil-Ekur went to "his land" and there summoned "his own" warriors. Judging from the whole situation, this land can be no other than that part of Assyria over which Nabû-dân, Ninurta-apil-Ešarra's father, had ruled as "king" and from which Ninurta-apil-

<sup>234</sup> Expressed by the particle *-ma* after *-šu*, "his."

Ešarra evidently had fled to Karduniaš at the time when Enlil-kudurra-ušur of Aššūr seized it, probably at the death of Nabû-dân.

The fact that the king list and the Synchronistic History do not run parallel in the details of their statements, i.e., that each of them relates certain events which the other omits and, vice versa, omits certain details which the other relates, is of course owing to the different aims of the king list and the Synchronistic History. The latter intentionally omits mention of any events indicating successes of the Babylonian kings over Aššūr. On the contrary, its tendency is to prove the superiority of Aššūr over Karduniaš in the past. For this reason it does not mention—according to my interpretation—the fact that the Babylonians won the battle and occupied Aššūr, but it mentions the fact—again according to my interpretation—that Ninurta-apil-Ekur drove the Babylonians out of Aššūr. It likewise never mentions anything indicating that certain kings of Assyria were indebted to the Babylonian kings because they found shelter with them when they had to flee from Assyria, and because it was their help that enabled them to return and seize the throne of Aššūr. No word is therefore said in the Synchronistic History to the effect that Ninurta-apil-Ekur fled to Adad-šumu-linnašir and that the latter probably even undertook the war in which he lost his life in order to re-establish him in the small kingdom of his father. The king list, on the other hand, is merely interested in showing, in a general outline, how the succession to the throne of Ninurta-apil-Ekur came about, and for this reason it states only that Ninurta-apil-Ekur had to flee to Karduniaš and that, coming back from there, he seized the throne. But it is not interested in showing Aššūr's superiority over Baby-

lonia and for this reason omits in its summary statement all references to the defeat of the Babylonians by Ninurta-apil-Ekur.

The king list, furthermore, is especially interested in the genealogy of the new king in order to show his relationship to the preceding king or kings, as well as in order to elucidate the legalistic aspect of the succession. This it achieves in the shortest possible manner. By naming Ninurta-apil-Ekur's father, it indicates that the latter was himself a king, and his son therefore of royal birth. Any details, however, concerning the position of the father are not mentioned by the king list, as little as in the case of Ilu-kapkapi, Šamši-Adad I's father. It states, however, that Ninurta-apil-Ekur, or his father, was the descendant of a former king of Aššūr, namely, of Eriba-Adad I, who ruled, or rather ascended the throne, two centuries before Ninurta-apil-Ekur. Consequently, this king was actually a scion of the ruling dynasty, though only a remote relative of his immediate predecessors as far as the male line of descendancy was concerned. It is this point which the king list is especially interested in bringing out. The Synchronistic History, however, omits it as having no relation to its aim to show the Babylonians the historical military superiority of Assyria as well as the kindly disposition of their kings toward the Babylonians whenever these were desirous of having friendly relations with Assyria.

The fact that the king list in its genealogy of Ninurta-apil-Ekur omits all ancestors between Eriba-Adad and Nabû-dân indicates that none of them occupied the throne of Aššūr or even any other throne. The line of descent of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's family, therefore, cannot be identical even in part with the Aššūr-uballiṭ line, which held the royal office at Aššūr after Eriba-Adad. If it had, the king list would of

course have mentioned as Ninurta-apil-Ekur's ancestor not Eriba-Adad but the last of Eriba-Adad's royal successors over whom the Ninurta-apil-Ekur line led. The fact that the latter traced its origin to a king who lived two hundred years before that time is quite interesting but entirely in accordance with the custom of aristocratic families, and especially with a family of royal descent. Compare, for instance, the fact that the *limmu* official, Aššūr-mudammiq, on his stela, Andrae, StrA, No. 63, extends his genealogy to his great-grandfather, Qibi-Aššūr, a *suk-kallu rabû* of the king of Ḫanigalbat. Since the Ninurta-apil-Ekur branch for so long a time—eight generations if we count from Aššūr-nerâri III, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's last predecessor but one, or seven generations if we count from Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's immediate predecessor—had played only the role of a princely family agnated with the ruling royal family, Ninurta-apil-Ekur and his descendants on the throne of Aššūr may appropriately be called—as in the caption of this section—the younger line of the Adasi dynasty.<sup>235</sup> That the later kings who descended from Ninurta-apil-Ekur regarded themselves as members of the Adasi dynasty follows from the fact that Aššūr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn trace their descent to Bêlu-bāni, son of Adasi.

<sup>235</sup> It could, of course, be designated as the Ninurta-apil-Ekur line of the Adasi dynasty, but it would be wrong to call it the Ninurta-apil-Ekur dynasty (cf. Weidner, *MVG XX* [1915], Heft 4, 77: "Ahnherren einer assyrischen Dynastie"), since Ninurta-apil-Ekur as a descendant of Eriba-Adad I was a member of the same royal family to which the kings ruling before him belonged.

Whether, however, the son of Eriba-Sin, from whom the Nabû-dân and Ninurta-apil-Ekur family branch derived, was a younger son of Eriba-Sin as compared with Aššūr-uballiṭ—customarily only in such a case a family branch is called the younger line—we do not know, but probably he was, since, even though not infrequently a younger son was given preference, as a rule the eldest son of the king followed him on the throne.

Although on principle this report does not concern itself with the synchronization of the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies, I nevertheless wish to mention here the fact that in Synchronistic King List A, in the three-line compartment, column 2, lines 7-9, Ninurta-apil-Ekur is equated with the three Babylonian kings, Adad-šumu-linnašir, [Mel]i-šipak, and [Ma]rduk-apla-iddina, because combined with the new information from our Khorsabad list these equations enable us better than any others to determine the real character of the synchronistic king lists. As is plainly obvious from the first of the three equations—that between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šumu-linnašir—it cannot be the purpose of the equations in the so-called Synchronistic King List A to indicate correspondences of the reigns of Assyrian kings with the reigns of Babylonian kings, for Ninurta-apil-Ekur became king of Assyria only after Adad-šumu-linnašir had been killed in the battle he waged against Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's immediate predecessor. If, however, this equation was intended to mean anything—and we can expect that it does, since it is given such a prominent place in the first line of the compartment devoted to Ninurta-apil-Ekur—its purpose can be to indicate only that King Adad-šumu-linnašir of Babylonia played an important role in the history of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, naturally at a time before his death and before Ninurta-apil-Ekur's accession to power in Aššūr. That at that time he played such a role we know now from the king-list statement that Ninurta-apil-Ekur, before he became king, "went to Karduniaš"—whose king at that time was Adad-šumu-linnašir—and that he "came up" from there in order to take possession of the kingdom of Aššūr. Considering, furthermore, that such historical relations

between Assyrian and Babylonian kings were reported in the so-called "synchronistic histories," it is quite obvious that the equations of the so-called "synchronistic king lists," which mention only the names of the kings but no events, were intended, at least originally, as we presently shall see, to serve—for the benefit of historians—as a kind of register to the existing synchronistic histories, each equation between a certain king of Assyria and a certain king of Babylonia representing, as it were, the caption of the corresponding synchronistic history chapter that dealt with the historical relations between the two kings in question.

Likewise incompatible with the idea that the equations indicate correspondences of reigns is the third equation, that between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and King Marduk-apla-iddina of Karduniaš. Since Ninurta-apil-Ekur of Assyria and Meli-šipak, the father of Marduk-apla-iddina of Babylonia, ascended the throne in their respective countries in the same year, namely, the year in which their predecessors Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Adad-šumu-linnašir were killed in battle, and since Ninurta-apil-Ekur ruled 13 years (according to Assur A), but Meli-šipak 15 years (according to Babylonian King List A), the former must of course have died two years before Meli-šipak, and Marduk-apla-iddina's reign was therefore contemporaneous not with that of Ninurta-apil-Ekur but with that of Aššūr-dān I, the successor of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. The explanation of that strange equation evidently is as follows: Since the so-called Synchronistic History, immediately after the paragraph which treats of the deaths of Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Adad-šumu-linnašir and the subsequent seizure of Aššūr by Ninurta-apil-Ekur, in a new paragraph brings the report on the conflict between Aššūr-dān of Assyria and Zaba-

ba-šuma-iddina of Karduniaš, the Synchronistic King List, as an index for the Synchronistic History, should bring the equation Aššūr-dān - Zababa-šuma-iddina—of course in a compartment of its own—immediately after the equation Ninurta-apil-Ekur - Adad-šumu-linnašir, or, if Adad-šumu-linnašir's successor, Meli-šipak II, was mentioned in the missing right-hand half of the preceding paragraph of the Synchronistic History, immediately after the equation Ninurta-apil-Ekur - Meli-šipak. In other words, the original text of the Synchronistic King List would not have had any reference to the Babylonian King Marduk-apla-iddina I, the son and immediate successor of Meli-šipak and the immediate predecessor of Zababa-šuma-iddina. Evidently, however, a later redactor of the Synchronistic History index thought it advisable—for the purpose of a better chronological orientation—to insert into it also the names of those kings during whose reigns no contact by war, treaty, etc., between Assyria and Babylonia had occurred and who for this reason were mentioned neither in the synchronistic histories nor in the original form of the Synchronistic King List. In doing so, the redactor followed the principle of adding each missing king—of Assyria as well as Babylonia—to the equation relating to the king whom he had succeeded. In all these additions, of course, no chronological equation whatever was intended, the ditto marks in the half-column for the kings of the other country probably having been added by a still later redactor and merely for the purpose of indicating that the king in question continued to rule without interruption by another reign right to the reign of the king who is mentioned in the next compartment.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>236</sup> This meaning of the ditto marks is especially obvious in the eight-line compartment devoted to Šamši-Adad II with its seven ditto marks under the king's name, which, of course, can only be meant to

Ninurta-apil-Ekur was followed by his son Aššūr-dān (83), who after a reign of 46 years, was succeeded by Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr (84). From the Khorsabad list statement on the latter king we gather the new information—which, as we shall see presently, is of great importance—that he was the son of his predecessor Aššūr-dān. Otherwise the statement contains merely the information that "he exercised kingship (only) in his (= Aššūr-dān's) *duḫpu*," that is, that his reign did not last to the end of his very accession year. The reason it was so short-lived, however, is told only in the statement on his successor Mutakkil-Nusku (85), the first part of which runs as follows: "Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought a battle against him. To Karduniaš he led him away."

indicate that there was no other reign between him and his son Išme-Dagān II.

Furthermore, the equation of the 2d to 9th Kassite kings with one and the same Assyrian king, according to the principle pointed out above, proves that no synchronistic history or any other chronicle had related any historical contact between Assyria and the first eight (or even nine?) Kassite kings. Doubtless the equations between the Assyrian kings and the kings of the Sea Country, too, are not taken from chronicles, but like the first eight or nine Kassite kings, belong to the insertions described above. There can be no doubt that the present arrangement of the names is not the work of the first redactor who tried to make the original index into a comprehensive king list. Knowing of the contemporariness or overlapping of the first dynasty of Babylon, the dynasty of the Sea Country, and the Kassite dynasty, this redactor will naturally have used a three- or even a four-column system for the enumeration of the kings of the four countries in the period from Samsu-iluna of Babylon to Šamši-Adad II of Assyria. A later copyist, however, wishing to avoid the most inconvenient four-column arrangement within the two-column system of the list, placed all the three southern dynasties consecutively in the second column of his tablet. This, of course, was a rather desperate and reckless makeshift, and the copyist himself may have considered it as such, for evidently as a reminder—for himself or the reader—that the three southern dynasties should properly be in three parallel columns, he placed in col. 1, l. 10', at least Gandu, the first of the Kassite kings, on the same line with Ea-gāmil, the last king of the Sea Country. Probably he had used the same device in the broken upper part of the column, by placing Ilumailu, the first king of the Sea Country dynasty, on one line with Samsu-iluna or Abiesu'. Likewise incorrect from

Much has been speculated, in the past, on this King Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, on his reign, his character, his name, etc. I mention here only a few of the latest of these speculations. Weidner, in *MVaG* XX (1915), Part 4, 78—and following him Nassouhi in *AOf* IV (1921), 9—believed that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was a usurper.<sup>237</sup> His reason for this assumption was that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87) does not mention him in the great genealogy of his prism inscription<sup>238</sup> which reaches as far back as Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82) and which Weidner therefore believed to prove that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr (84) did not belong to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's family. From the Khorsabad list we now know that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was the legitimate successor of Aššūr-dān, at least inas-

the viewpoint of the first redactor are the dividing-lines between the various kings from Adasi to Erišu III, since according to the plan of that redactor they, or rather the compartments formed by them, would indicate actual cases of contemporariness.

It will also be noted that in col. 2 in the five-line compartment devoted to Aššūr-bēl-kala (89), the name of the king is written out in the first three lines but is indicated merely by a ditto mark in the last two lines. Probably some redactor used this device as a means to indicate that only the first three equations, those with the Babylonian kings Marduk[ša-pik-zēr-māti], Adad-apla-iddina, and [Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba?], are based on statements of the synchronistic histories, while the last two are insertions. Note that the first two equations actually parallel the section, *Synchronistic History*, col. 2, ll. 25-37, which reports dealings of Aššūr-bēl-kala of Assyria with Marduk-ša-pik-zēr-māti and Adad-apla-iddina of Babylonia. As regards the third Babylonian king, Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba(?), he too may have been mentioned in a more extensive synchronistic history as playing some role in the dealings of Aššūr-bēl-kala with Babylonia, although the events there referred to, of course, could not have taken place in his 14-year reign—he came to the throne only after Aššūr-bēl-kala's death—but must have occurred in the reign of his predecessor Adad-apla-iddina, when Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba(?) was not yet king. But quite as well a copyist, being unaware of the different meanings of the Aššūr-bēl-kala equations with the king's name written out and of those with the name indicated by the ditto mark may erroneously have written the name out, although the original had a ditto mark there.

<sup>237</sup> Weidner, *loc. cit.*: "Er dürfte ein Usurpator gewesen sein"; Nassouhi, *loc. cit.*: "Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr était un usurpateur."

<sup>238</sup> *I R* 9-16, col. 7, ll. 36-60.

much as he was his son and had ascended the throne immediately after his death. We also know now that he could not be mentioned in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's genealogy because Tukulti-apil-Ešarra descended from Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's brother Mutakkil-Nusku. We have here a good illustration of the fact that the interpretation of a genealogy not supplemented by other evidence is rather treacherous ground for the establishment of historical facts. Later, in *AOf* X (1935), 6, Weidner himself acknowledged the inconclusiveness of his argument by remarking on the omission of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's genealogy: "Freilich kein Beweis für die mehrfach geäußerte Ansicht, dass er ein Usurpator gewesen sei."<sup>239</sup> But the reason given by Weidner for this change of opinion—namely, that Mutakkil-Nusku, his future successor, lived undisturbed in Assyria during Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign and that this would hardly have been possible for him if Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr had been a usurper—is likewise based, as we shall see later, on an erroneous assumption, namely, that the business tablets which mention Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku date from the reign of the former. With Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr being the son of Aššūr-dān also Weidner's suggestion in *MVaG* XX (1915), Part 4, 79, that he probably had ascended the throne under Babylonian influence, is deprived of its basis. The extreme shortness of his reign, furthermore, disproves the assumption (*ibid.*) that he was a vassal first of the Babylonian king Ninurta-nādin-šumi and later of Nabû-kudurri-ušur, but especially it makes quite impossible

<sup>239</sup> Although Weidner, in the passage just referred to, actually envisages the possibility that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr might be a son (Billabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, p. 180: the elder son) of Aššūr-dān, he is more inclined to the new theory that he was a son of Enlil-kudurra-ušur, the last king of the older Adasi-line.

Winckler's,<sup>240</sup> and originally also Weidner's,<sup>241</sup> conclusion from the letter 4 R 34, No. 2, that after Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr has been king of Assyria for some time he was forced by a revolution to flee to Ninurta-nādin-šumi of Babylonia, that he then reconquered his kingdom with the help of his Babylonian protector, but for his personal safety preferred to stay permanently in Babylon, intrusting all affairs of government in Assyria to his trusted delegate, Aššūr-šumi-lišir. As we now know from the Khorsabad list statements, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign was brought to an end in the same year in which he ascended the throne, and he never returned to power. In conclusion we may mention Landsberger's speculation in *AOf* X (1935), 143, that the Babylonian king Nabû-nādin-šumi "den N(inurta-tukulti-Aššūr) . . . nach Assyrien zurückgeführt und dort als König eingesetzt habe, vielleicht nur, worauf die Chronik Nassouhi (*AOf* IV, S. 7, Z. 43-46) hinweist, indem er als Aufsichtsorgan dem legitimen Herrscher Mutakkil-Nusku beigegeben wurde, der dann allerdings diesen unbequemen Vormund bald abgeschüttelt hätte."<sup>242</sup> Our king-list statements disprove these assumptions which evidently were based on an erroneous conception of the phrase *DUB-pi-šû šarru-ta épuz-uš*—Landsberger must have believed that it meant "he ruled for an undefined or indefinable period"—as well as on an erroneous restoration of column 2, line 46, of the Nassouhi list, of which only *itti*, "with," is

<sup>240</sup> *AOf* I, 393.

<sup>241</sup> *MVaG* XX, Heft 4 (1915), 79. A somewhat modified view, *MVaG* XXVI, Heft 2 (1921), 38; the theory concerning the re-establishment of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's rule abandoned in *AOf* X (1935), 7.

<sup>242</sup> In footnote 25 (*loc. cit.*) Landsberger further explains: "Trotz des sehr defekten Erhaltungszustandes des betreffenden Passus der Chronik Nassouhi ist das Nebeneinander der Regentschaften des N(inurta-tukulti-Aššūr), dessen Regierungszeit nicht verzeichnet ist, und des Mutakkil-Nusku sicher daraus zu entnehmen."

preserved. Landsberger probably believed that it is the rest of a statement that Mutakkil-Nusku ruled jointly with Ninurta-apil-Ekur, while it actually is the rest of the statement "he waged war against him."

While the first sentence of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku quoted above in its first half would seem to need no further comment, the second sentence, "He led him away to Karduniaš," presents great difficulties. Following immediately upon the statement that Mutakkil-Nusku engaged in battle with this brother, the sentence as it stands in the text seems to lack a logical connection with what is reported before, or one would have to assume that the whole statement is exceedingly defective. Before Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr could be led off to Babylonia, he must have been captured by Mutakkil-Nusku, and we could, of course, expect that a statement to this effect be made before the statement on his being led away. Moreover, when it is stated that Mutakkil-Nusku carried his vanquished brother off to Babylonia, one would naturally expect an explanation as to why he did that and especially why he should lead him to the neighboring land of Karduniaš, and even why he should do that personally, as is implied by the text as we have it.

A very simple solution of all these difficulties, however, would be arrived at by considering the *ēbukšu*, "he carried him off," as a scribal error for *īrussu*,<sup>243</sup> "he drove him off," "he chased him away," "he forced him to flee." For in this case the two sentences forming the first half of the king-list paragraph would state that Mutakkil-Nusku, a brother of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, waged a battle against the latter and, although he did not capture him, he at least succeeded in driving him out of the country and in forcing him to

<sup>243</sup> From *šarādu*.

seek refuge in Babylonia. This emendation of the verb *ēbuk* to *iṣrud*, which makes the whole statement perfectly natural, receives strong support from the famous letter fragment 4 R 34, No. 2. After having stated in line 8 that a certain Aššūr-šumu-līšir now lives in his own land, the letter continues in line 9 with the words: "but Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, his (i.e., Aššūr-šumu-līšir's) lord, has been interned in this land (i.e., Babylonia)." In lines 3-5 the same Aššūr-šumu-līšir is referred to with the words: "Aššūr-šumu-līšir, to whom, when they had chased him (out of Assyria) with his lord, and he came (with him) to this country (= Babylonia), my father (= the former king of Babylonia) gave help, leading him back to his country," and on the strength of the passage quoted before the present one it seems quite certain that in this passage the words "his (= Aššūr-šumu-līšir's) lord" likewise refer to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. Now the statement of this passage is not that Aššūr-šumu-līšir—and with him of course also Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, whom he accompanied—was "brought" to Babylonia but that he was "chased" there from Assyria and that he "came" there (of his own volition) as a refugee. The first of the two verbal forms is *iṣ-ru-du-niṣ-šum-ma*, literally "(whom) they chased hither and (he came hither)," of *ṣarādu*, i.e., exactly the verb, the preterit form of which instead of the *ēbuk* of the present text would effectively remove all difficulties from the passage. As long as no other evidence pointing in a different direction is at hand, we may therefore regard the emendation as fully justified, although of course we would feel much more reassured if we had at our disposal a king-list text actually exhibiting the emended form. Unfortunately, the top line of column 4 of the Nassouhi list, which should contain the verb, is ap-

parently rubbed off to such a degree that it is difficult to identify with certainty, at least on the photographs at my disposal, the signs to which the remaining wedge impressions belonged. Nassouhi's restoration *[i]ku[ssā] i[ṣ-bat]*, "he seized the throne," is not supported by what can be seen on the photographs and probably is due solely to the fact that Nassouhi expected that statement at this place. One would certainly be grateful to the first editor of the inscription if he could establish from the original whether it has *e-[bu]-[uk]-[ṣū]*, as in the Khorsabad list, or perhaps *[i]t-[ru]-[u]s-[su]*, which the wedge remnants, judging of course only from the photographs, would seem to fit very well.<sup>244</sup> The strange *ēbukšu* could well have come from some other passage in the same or in a preceding paragraph, in which it was stated that someone carried or led someone or something to Kar-

<sup>244</sup> If only the king-list text were to be explained, one could quite well justify the *ēbukšu* by the assumption that the original much more extensive chronicle text and an older king-list text reported that Mutakkil-Nusku's attack on his brother was made in union with the king of Babylon, that the battle referred to was principally a battle between the Assyrian and the Babylonian armies, that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was captured in that battle, and that the king of Babylon, not Mutakkil-Nusku, led Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr to Babylonia. As is shown by all other statements referring to usurpers who seized the Assyrian throne with the help of the Babylonians, references of the original text, from which the king-list text derived, to such Babylonian help are omitted everywhere in the present king-list text, the statement restricting its report more or less to the formula: "X 'went' to Karduniaš; from Karduniaš he 'came up'; Y he dethroned; the throne he seized." It would therefore be in no way remarkable if in the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku all original mentionings of the Babylonians and the Babylonian king were likewise omitted. But this conception of the king-list statement would be in conflict with the letter statement referred to above—unless our interpretation of the *ēlišu* in ll. 4 f. as referring to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr could be shown to be wrong, which, however, is not very likely. As far as our present evidence goes, we can only assume that Mutakkil-Nusku was not supported by a Babylonian army but expelled Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr with the help of his own followers in Assyria and that the part played by the king of Karduniaš at that time was restricted to the fact that he gave shelter to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, when he fled to him.

duniaš, and to which the copying scribe had strayed inadvertently.

It need hardly be expressly stated that with our Khorsabad king-list statements on Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku, the real background of the famous and so much discussed royal letter 4 R 34, No. 2, to which we have already referred, has become known to us for the first time. Concerning this background we are therefore no longer dependent on the theories which have sprung up so exuberantly in the past, almost all of which can now be shown to be erroneous.

Similarly the king-list statements give us the historical background of the group of 112 clay tablets from Aššūr<sup>245</sup> which were found together in a broken pot and more than half of which<sup>246</sup> mention the name of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. These tablets are generally believed to date from the time when Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king of Assyria, and, since they are dated in a period of twelve months,<sup>247</sup> Weidner, giving up his former explanations in favor of Oppenheim's assumption that the phrase *ana duppišu* in contracts means "for one year," even found in that fact a proof that *DUB-pi-šu* with which the king list describes the length of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign means "one year." Since the year in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king also comprised, as we now know, a fraction of the reign of Aššūr-dān, as well as the reign of Mutakkil-Nusku and a fraction of the reign of Aššūr-rēša-iši, it is, of course, altogether impossible that the tablets, extending as they do over twelve months, were written within the time in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king. Moreover, in none of the tab-

lets is Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr given the title "king," although this could be expected if he actually was king at the time in which the tablets were written. Finally, among the tablets is a short memorandum<sup>248</sup> consisting only of the words "100 sheep of Mutakkil-Nusku" and dated in the tenth month of the twelve-month period during which the tablets were written. As Weidner rightly points out,<sup>249</sup> this Mutakkil-Nusku evidently is the later king; but it cannot be regarded as very likely that the prince Mutakkil-Nusku, who disputed his brother Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr the throne, should have done peaceful business with an office of the king, his brother, at Aššūr.<sup>250</sup> To be sure, as long as it was the general belief that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was a usurper, it could seem likely, or even necessary to assume, that the tablets in which he figures so prominently were written when he was king. Since, however, we now know that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was the son of Aššūr-dān and therefore was not a usurper, we have no longer any valid reason to date the tablets in the time in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king. In view of all these facts it is quite obvious that the tablets mentioning Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku date from the time of Aššūr-dān, in which both brothers had no higher rank than that of royal princes. With this fact established, the *limmu's* of Aššūr-ētiranni and *Šin-še-ia* both belong to the reign of Aššūr-dān I, probably near the end of his long reign.

In this connection a word should be said also on the flashy caption "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs,"

<sup>248</sup> AOf X, 49: No. 98.

<sup>249</sup> AOf X, 13.

<sup>245</sup> Published by Ebeling in KAJI; Weidner in AOf X, 31 f. Transliterated and translated by Ebeling in MAOG VII, Heft 1-2, and Weidner in AOf X, 33-44.

<sup>246</sup> Pointed out by Weidner, AOf X, 9.

<sup>247</sup> See Weidner, AOf X, 27.

<sup>250</sup> Weidner, who saw this difficulty, therefore assumed in AOf X (1935), 6, that when his brother had become king, Mutakkil-Nusku had retired to his estates.

under which Weidner in AOf X, 1 ff. published his very meritorious observations on the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets. This caption is wrong, not only because the tablets were not written in the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, but also because it labels this ruler a sham king or, as our newspapers nowadays say, a puppet king. Note also Weidner's characterization of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr as a *Schwächling* ("weakling") in MVaG XX (1915), 30. Giving historical persons hardly known by their deeds a certain character seems to have become a widespread custom, but it is a great danger for a truthful presentation of history. Among the sources of our knowledge concerning Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, the earliest, the business tablets just discussed, contain no hint whatever concerning his character. From the king list, the second source, we know only that, when he had become king, his brother successfully disputed him the throne and that he had to flee to Babylonia, but even this fact cannot give us any hint as to whether he was an energetic or a weak, irresolute person. Napoleon I, for instance, certainly was a most energetic ruler, and yet he succumbed to a superior combination of forces. And to speak of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr as a *Schattenkönig*, i.e., a king without political might, is likewise unwarranted, since we have not the slightest information as to what power he commanded in the short time of his reign or concerning the question what decided the fight for the throne in favor of his brother—it might, for instance, have been owing to a surprise attack. Finally, whatever role Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr might have played in Babylonia at the time when the letter 4 R 34, No. 2, our third source of information on him, was written, is entirely irrelevant, since at that time Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was no longer king

of Assyria. Certain aspersions referred to in that letter as made previously by the then ruling king, Aššūr-rêša-iši, on the character of his uncle probably can be dismissed entirely as owing to politics.

The name of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, finally, has lately been read Ninurta-tukul-Aššūr,<sup>251</sup> because in the collection of tablets just referred to it is written twice <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-tu-kul-Aš-šur (KAJI, No. 187, l. 7, and No. 282, l. 5) and once <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-tu-kul-A-šur (*ibid.*, No. 214, l. 4), while in 71 other cases the middle component of the name is written with the Sumerian sign combination <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL. As convincing as on the surface the argumentation that the writing TU-KUL represents the phonetic spelling of the middle component of the name might seem to be, it is nevertheless in no way conclusive. In point of fact, it takes into consideration neither the actual development of the scribal usages nor the possible psychological background of the writing of the usual <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL as TU-KUL. It is a well-known fact that the names of the various kings called Tukulti-Ninurta and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra are frequently written <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta<sup>252</sup> and <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-apil-Ē-šar-ra,<sup>253</sup> and there cannot be the slightest doubt that they are to be read *Tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta* and *Tukul-ti-apil-Ē-šar-ra*.<sup>254</sup> The writing of the first component of the name in these cases is entirely phonetic, the sign combination <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL (=Sumerian <sup>giš</sup>tu kul, "weapon"), with its two-syllable phonetic value *tukul* being used here to render the

<sup>251</sup> Ebeling, MAOG VII, Heft 1 and 2, 26; Weidner, AOf X, 1, n. 1; Opitz, *ibid.*, p. 48; Landsberger, *ibid.*, pp. 140 and 141, n. 5.

<sup>252</sup> KAH I, No. 48, l. 1; No. 49, l. 1; No. 50, ll. 1 and 8, etc. (Tukulti-Ninurta I); <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Ninurta, *ibid.*, No. 89, l. 16; No. 97, l. 3 (Tukulti-Ninurta II).

<sup>253</sup> KAH I, No. 65, l. 1; No. 68, l. 1, etc. (Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I); No. 82, l. 2; No. 83, l. 6; No. 84, l. 11 (Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II).

<sup>254</sup> Note, e.g., the rendering of the latter name as Tiglat Pileser in Hebrew.

first two syllables of the Akkadian word *tukultu*, "trust."<sup>255</sup> Instead of <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti (= *tukul-ti*) we find the word *tukulti* written also as *tukul-ti*, i.e., with the simple sign KU (= *tukul*) plus *ti*. This writing is found already in the Old Babylonian period in *Ir-ra-tukul-ti* (Ranke, BE VI, 1, No. 42, tablet, l. 14, case, l. 16).<sup>256</sup> As a matter of fact, this is the more natural (and of course older) writing, since the phonetic value *tukul* belongs only to the sign KU, while <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL represents <sup>giš</sup>tukul, i.e., *tukul* with the determinative <sup>giš</sup>. Although this determinative in the writing of the Sumerian word *tu kul*, "weapon," as <sup>giš</sup>tu kul is quite appropriate, in the writing of the mere phoneme *tukul* (i.e., in the writing of the two syllables *tu+kul*) as <sup>giš</sup>tukul it is rather an artificial addition, probably resorted to by the scribes of the later periods in order to distinguish it from other values of KU (e.g., *ku*, *tuš*, *dūr*). *Tukul-ti* (with KU = *tukul*) is once found also in the Khorsabad list in the writing of our king's name as <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur, while the Nas-souhi list writes <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur] with <sup>giš</sup>tukul = *tukul*.<sup>257</sup>

In many instances, however, the element *tukulti* of the names Tukulti-Ninurta and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra is written simply with the signs <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL and TUKUL without a following *ti*. Compare, for example, <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-apil-Ē-šar-ra (Nas-souhi list, col. 4, ll. 8, 10, and 14 [= Tu-

<sup>255</sup> If Sumerian <sup>giš</sup>tu kul, "weapon," were used here as an ideogram, it could properly stand only for its Akkadian equivalent *kakku*, "weapon," i.e., <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti would have to be read *\*\*kakku-ti*, etc.

<sup>256</sup> For the use at that time of signs with phonetic values consisting of two syllables see my Habilitationsschrift, *Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon* (1910), p. 14, n. 2.

<sup>257</sup> The same different writings are observed in the well-known phrase *ina tukulti Aššur*, etc. The usual writing is *i-na tukul-ti*, for which see references in Delitzsch, AHw, p. 706; but *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra*, 1 R 9 ff., col. 1, l. 70, for instance, writes *i-na gištukul-ti A-šur*.

kulti-apil-Ešarra I]) over against <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-apil-Ē-šar-ra (*ibid.*, l. 6 [= Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I] and l. 27 [= Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II]); TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta (KAHI II, No. 91, l. 8), TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Ninurta (*ibid.*, No. 101, l. 3), and TUKUL-Ninurta, (*ibid.*, No. 96, l. 3; No. 98, ll. 3, etc.)—all referring to Tukulti-Ninurta II.<sup>258</sup> These strange and, strictly speaking, wrong writings are to be explained, of course, by a misconception on the part of the Assyrian scribes who erroneously took the phonetic renderings of *tukulti* by means of *tukul-ti* and <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti as half "ideographic" and half phonetic writings, namely, as representing *tukul-ti* and <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti, in which, according to their conception, TUKUL and <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL are ideograms for *tukulti*, while the *ti* is the so-called "phonetic complement." Owing to this wrong conception, they naturally believed themselves entitled to write *tukulti* simply with the supposed ideograms TUKUL or <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL = *tukulti*, similarly as, e.g., the word *eršetum*, "earth," might be written either *KI-tum* or simply *KI*.

In the light of these observations it would appear that the name <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-<sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-Aš-šur should be read Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, and especially so in view of the fact that the name is actually written <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur in the Khorsabad list and in the Synchronistic King List (KAVI, No. 10, col. 1, l. 3) and similarly is written (<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-)tukul-ti-AN-SAR in Chronicle P (col. 4, l. 12), if the king referred to is actually identical with Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. On the other hand, if the name were to be read Ninurta-tukul-Aššūr, we would have to face the fact that the name element *tukul* is not found in any of the thousands of Assyrian and Babylonian names and, in addition to

<sup>258</sup> Especially numerous are these writings of Tukulti-Ninurta II's name in the Nineveh texts published by Thompson in AAA XIX (1932).

that, the fact that to date no word *tuklu* or *tukullu*, etc., from which the *tukul* of the name could derive, is known. One could, of course, argue that Akkadian might have had in addition to the well-known feminine *tukultu* a less used masculine *tuklu* of the same meaning "trust," or that Sumerian <sup>gis</sup>*tukul*, "weapon," might have been taken over as a loan-word *tukullum*, "weapon." In point of fact, if the second element actually represented the construct of such a *tukullu*, "weapon," a seemingly quite acceptable meaning, "Ninurta, the (divine) weapon of Aššūr," would result for the name. But as stated, none of the words is actually attested, nor do we know that Ninurta was considered the weapon of Aššūr. Moreover, the use in an Assyrian name of a rare Sumerian loan-word such as the supposed *tukullu*, "weapon," would again be something quite unusual, since names as a rule are intended to express clearly and simply what is meant by them. Furthermore, if we accept the reading *tukul* for the second element of Ninurta-<sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL*-Aššūr, we would of course have to explain how it could happen that in the later periods the name was universally read Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. The assumption that this reading is simply a mistake remains, of course, unsatisfactory as long as one cannot show how the mistake originated; but, as far as we can see to date, hardly any satisfactory explanation can be given for it. For all these reasons it seems to me quite likely that in reality the phonetically written *TU-KÚL* represents a mistake, namely, in that the scribe who should have written the two signs of the *TÚKUL* sign combination, i.e., *GIS* and *TUKUL*, which were believed to be the ideogram of *tukulti*, instead wrote down the phonetic value *tukul* of that sign combination, written, of course, exactly as in the phonetic value column of the syllabaries, with

the monosyllabic signs of the customary system, i.e., as *tu-kúl*. That such queer mistakes could occur is very clearly illustrated by the fact that in CT 35, 1 ff column 1, line 62, as pointed out by me in JAOS LVII (1937), 67, the scribe, instead of inserting into the *LAGAB* sign the two signs *še* and *sum*, inserted their Sumerian names, namely, *še-a* and *su-na*. An even closer parallel is offered by several of the syllabary statements intended to indicate that a certain sign (listed in the second subcolumn) has a certain pronunciation (given in the first subcolumn) in a certain combination of the sign with one or more other signs, this combination being given in the Akkadian column, preceded by a *ša* (apparently <*ša* (g)....- (a) k - a, "in") and followed by the Akkadian equivalent of the sign combination. Such statements make sense, of course, only in those cases in which the sign in question actually appears in the Sumerian sign combination in the Akkadian column, as, for example, in CT 12, 10 ff., column 4, line 26:

Ygur | URU<sub>5</sub> | *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*m á*-URU<sub>5</sub> *ma-kur'-rum*, which means that the sign URU<sub>5</sub> has the phonetic value *gur* in the sign combination <sup>gis</sup>*m á*-URU<sub>5</sub> (to be pronounced, therefore, *m á-gur<sub>s</sub>*), the Akkadian equivalent of which is *makurru*, "barge" (loan-word from Sumerian *m á-gur*). But in CT XII, 10 ff., column 3, line 25, for instance, we read:

Yni-in | USLAN | *ša* <sup>d</sup>*in-ni-na* *šu-ma*, meaning that the sign USLAN is to be read *nin* in the sign combination <sup>d</sup>*in-ni-na*, which in Akkadian is written and read in the same manner (= *šu-ma*). As it stands, this makes no sense, of course. What is meant is that the sign USLAN is to be read *innina*, *ennin*, or *nin* in the sign combination <sup>d</sup>*in*-USLAN, and it is obvious that, instead

of writing the sign USLAN, the scribe erroneously wrote its phonetic value, of course as it would be written in the phonetic value column of the syllabary, i.e., with the usual one-syllable value signs *in-ni-na*. It will be noted that this case is completely parallel to that of <sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL* written *tu-kúl* in the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets. Of the many other instances of such erroneous phonetic writings of the Sumerian ideogram in the *ša*... formula, only two may be mentioned, namely, CT XXXV, 1-8, column 2, line 27:

Ysu-ur | KU | *ša* *ša*-sur *ša-as-su-ru*, where the sign combination should be *ša-KU*, and *ibid.*, line 14:

Yku-ut | KU | *ša* *ku*-tá *raq-qí-du*, where the sign combination should be *KU-tá* or a similar sign combination for the Sumerian equivalent of *raqqídu*. For in the parallel Yale Syllabary the first equation appears in line 127 as:

Ytu-[ur] | KU | *ša* *ša*-tur *ša-as-su-ru*, with erroneous writing *ša-tur* for *ša-KU*, while line 114 offers for the second equation:

Ygu-u [t]! | KU | *ša* *KU-ut*-to *raq-qí-du*, with *KU-ut*-to instead of *KU-to*. Although the scribe of the Yale Syllabary makes the same mistake as the scribe of CT XXXV, 1-8, namely, of writing the Sumerian "ideogram" or part of it with the monosyllabic signs of the Akkadian sign system, the different pronunciation of the ideograms in the parallel passages clearly shows that these mistakes are not dependent on one another. This as well as the comparatively great number of such mistakes in the syllabaries, clearly indicates that the peculiar error was one into which the scribes could fall quite easily. Doubtless the reason for the frequent occurrence of the mistakes in the

syllabaries was that these were written from dictation. So doubtless were the business memorandums referring to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr; and this fact readily explains why the erroneous phonetic writing of the "ideogram" <sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL* (= *tu-kulti*) occurs three times in those tablets. Most probably the dictating official, in order to insure the writing of the name with *GIS-TUKUL* (= *TÚKUL*) instead of with *GIS-TUKUL-ti*, simply dictated *TÚKUL*, believing that his scribes would know what he meant. The scribes on their part, of course, knew it, since in all other instances they wrote <sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL*. But that would not necessarily guard them now and then, in moments of inattentiveness, from writing the dictated ideogram in the same manner as they would write the syllable combination *tukul* in any other case, especially since ideograms, because they represent a deviation from the basic sign system, were always exposed to the danger of being written "phonetically." Possibly the fact that the error occurred comparatively frequently—namely, three times—in the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets must even be regarded as an indication that at the time of Aššūr-dān I the use of <sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL* as an "ideogram" for *tukulti* was still an innovation to which most of the scribes had not become thoroughly accustomed and to which part of them even were opposed, because they knew that properly <sup>gis</sup>*TUKUL* was not an "ideogram" of *tukulti*. It could quite well have been that, by thinking of this, their attention was momentarily diverted.

Although with all these arguments our explanation of the strange *TU-KÚL* as a phonetically written ideogram *TÚKUL* for *tukulti* cannot be regarded as proved with the same absolute conclusiveness as it would be if we had a contemporary writing of the second element of the name Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr with *tukul-ti* or

*tu-kul-ti*, it can at least be asserted that this explanation has the great advantage of being entirely in harmony with all the facts observable elsewhere in regard to the use of <sup>gi</sup>*is*TUKUL as ideogram for *tukulti* in proper names, a circumstance which makes it most probable that it will prove correct. In point of fact, the writing <sup>4</sup>*Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šūr* in our king list, although it does not represent a contemporary writing, already represents strong evidence to that effect.

The second half of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku runs as follows: "(But still within) his (= *Ninurta-tukulti-Aš-šūr*'s) *DUBpu* Mutakkil-Nusku, after having (only?) 'held' the throne, died."<sup>259</sup>

It is remarkable that the statement on the expulsion of *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr* from Assyria is not followed by the statement that Mutakkil-Nusku "seized" the throne, since such a statement is quite customary in our list in the case of a king having dethroned his predecessor. Nor does the statement continue with the usual phrase ("for so much time) *šarru-ta ēpus-uš*," but instead of both phrases it uses the expression *kussā ukta*(')<sup>260</sup>il, "he had held the throne," which by means of its syntactical *t* (the *t* of previousness)<sup>260</sup> is temporally subordinated to the following statement, "he died." Since the king list does not mention the death of any other Assyrian king, it is obvious that the death of Mutakkil-Nusku must have appeared to the author of the king-list statement remarkable enough to warrant an express reference to it. The explanation must, of course, be sought in the syntactically subordinated phrase *ukta*(')<sup>260</sup>il. Since the omission of the statement that he exercised kingship as well as of the

<sup>259</sup> *DUB-pi-šū* = *Mu-tak-kil-Nusku giškussā uk-ta-il šada-a e-mid*. Note the Assyrian uncontracted form *ukta*(?)<sup>260</sup>il, II 2 of *k y l*.

<sup>260</sup> See my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 30, n. 1.

statement that he seized the throne or placed himself on it doubtless indicates that the author of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku had some reason for not making those statements—in other words, since he believed the actual events did not warrant them—it seems quite likely that the "holding" of the throne which the text reports is not the full equivalent of the usually reported "seizing" of the throne, but that it represents only one single action of the ceremony or legal process of "seizing" the throne. If this conclusion is correct, the passage would tell us that Mutakkil-Nusku either died before the ceremony of seizing the throne was completed or that during that ceremony he was struck by some ailment which in a short time may have led to his death. That Mutakkil-Nusku was not a young man at that time, and that therefore he might easily have succumbed perhaps to a "stroke," is most likely in view of the fact that his father *Aššūr-dān I* ruled the long time of 46 years and that, according to the express statement of his great-grandson *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I*, *Aššūr-dān* attained a very advanced age.<sup>261</sup> Note, furthermore, that Mutakkil-Nusku's son, *Aššūr-rēša-iši I*, at the former's death at once took over the government and that *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I*, *Aššūr-rēša-iši*'s son, ascended the throne only 18 years later. But no matter whether the foregoing speculations are correct or not, it was a tragic end of Mutakkil-Nusku's career, since his rule over Assyria lasted not even to the end of the year in which he triumphed over his brother *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr*. This, of course, is the reason why his grandson, *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I*, in I R 9-16, column 7, lines 45-48, reports in glorification of his grandfather only that "the great lord *Aššūr* fol-

<sup>261</sup> *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra*, I R 9-16, col. 7, ll. 51-54: *ša . . . ša . . . ša-bu-ta u la-bi-ru-ta il-li-ku*.

lowing the desire of his heart called him to shepherdship over the land of *Aššūr*."

The extreme shortness of Mutakkil-Nusku's reign refutes, of course, the almost general assumption that this king was the recipient of the letter 4 R 34, No. 2.<sup>262</sup> Since, however, the time when the letter was written cannot be too far removed from the time of *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr*'s flight to Babylonia, it may be regarded as quite certain that the Assyrian recipient was Mutakkil-Nusku's son *Aššūr-rēša-iši*, who, according to our Khorsabad list, ruled 18 years.

Mutakkil-Nusku, too, has come in for his share of unfavorable characterization. Weidner in *MVaG XX*, No. 4 (1917), 80, says of him: "Er scheint . . . nur kurze Zeit regiert zu haben<sup>263</sup> und ein ziemlich unbedeutender Herrscher gewesen zu sein." That Landsberger (*AOf X*, 143) is inclined to assume that *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr* was sent from Babylonia to hold Mutakkil-Nusku in tutelage has already been mentioned.<sup>264</sup> Here, too, the extreme shortness of Mutakkil-Nusku's reign makes it obvious that these speculations are entirely out of place.

Concerning the kings from *Aššūr-rēša-iši I* (86), son of Mutakkil-Nusku, down to *Aššūr-nerāri V* (107), the Khorsabad list hardly offers an opportunity for special

remarks such as planned for this preliminary report, excepting of course the statements on the length of several reigns not preserved in the Nassouhi list. As stated above, however, these numbers cannot be discussed here. Only *en passant*, because of the great differences between the numbers given by our list and those hitherto operated with,<sup>265</sup> it may be mentioned that our list gives to *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I* (87) 39 years instead of the assumed 27; to *Šamši-Adad IV* (91) 4 years instead of 20; to *Aššūr-rabi II* (95) 41 years instead of 30; and to *Aššūr-rēša-iši II* (96) 5 instead of 15.

Because certain principles important for the correct understanding of the *limmu* lists are involved, we must, however, briefly discuss the rather small differences in the regnal years attributed by the Khorsabad list—in contradistinction to the assumptions of modern scholars—to *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II* (97) [32 years instead of 33],<sup>266</sup> to *Tukulti-Ninurta II* (100) [7 years instead of 6], to *Šamši-Adad V* (103) [13 years instead of 14], and to *Aššūr-nerāri V* (107) [10 years instead of 8]. Although our Khorsabad list stops with *Aššūr-nerāri V*, we shall—for reasons that will presently reveal themselves—include in our discussion the reign of *Aššūr-nerāri V*'s immediate successor, *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III* (108) [chronologically correct, 18 years instead of the usually counted 19 years].

As regards *Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II* (97), the *limmu* list KAVI No. 21 ff. in column 5 actually gives 33 [years] as the total of the *limmu*'s of his *limmu* period, counted from his own *limmu* (No. 51, col. 5) to the last *limmu* (included) be-

<sup>265</sup> As examples, Weidner's numbers in *AOf IV*, 77, will be quoted.

<sup>266</sup> Weidner, in *AOf IV* (1927), 17. The deviating numbers for the other kings are those assumed by Forrer, in *MVaG XX*, Heft 3 (1916), 26 ff. and by Weidner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>262</sup> Forrer, *RIA I*, 277-79; Weidner, *AOf X* (1935), 6. Landsberger, *AOf X*, 143, thinks of Mutakkil-Nusku as recipient of the letter in preference to the aged *Aššūr-dān I*, who—if he instead of Mutakkil-Nusku was the recipient—"dann im Gefolge der in unserem Brief angedrohten Aktion seine Absetzung erfahren hätte." Neither the letter nor, as far as I know, any inscription contains a hint that *Aššūr-dān* was deposed. Moreover, such a dethronement or at least the seizing of the throne by his successor would certainly have been reported in the king-list statement on *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr*, *Aššūr-dān*'s son. Cf. the statement on *Aššūr-nādin-apli*, son of *Tukulti-Ninurta I*.

<sup>263</sup> In his list of kings (*ibid.*, p. 110), however, Weidner gives him 12 years of reign. In *AOf III* (1924-25), 77, he reduces his reign to 9 years and in *AOf IV* (1926-27) and *X* (1935) to three years.

<sup>264</sup> See above, p. 63.

fore the *limmu* of King Aššûr-dân II (No. 52, col. 5). But it is an obvious fact that the *limmu* period of a king, as it is indicated in the various *limmu* lists by horizontal dividing lines (and in KAVI No. 21 ff., moreover, by a summary),<sup>267</sup> is not necessarily identical with the official reign of the king. This unmistakably is shown by the observation that beginning with Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III some *limmu* lists place the dividing line which marks the beginning of the *limmu* period before the year of the king's accession to the throne, while others place it before the first official year of the king, and still others before the king's *limmu*, which, as we shall see, was never identical with the king's first year of reign. Provided that one of these different methods is used regularly and, in the case of the last mentioned method, that the *limmu* of a king and that of his successor coincide with the same official year of their respective reigns, the *limmu* period will naturally be of the same length as that of the king's reign, but in all those cases in which this condition is not fulfilled the *limmu* period and the reign will be of different length. This can be conveniently illustrated by the fact that KAVI No. 21 ff. in column 8 (toward its end) counts only 4 years (723-720 B.C.) for the *limmu* period of Šulmānu-ašarēd V (109), while his official regnal years number 5 (726-722 B.C.), the difference, of course, being due to the fact that Šulmānu-ašarēd's *limmu* year is identical with his official 4th year of reign, while the *limmu* of his successor, Šarrukīn, is identical with the 3d year of this king's reign. It is obvious, therefore, that the statement of the Khorsabad list that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II ruled 32 years need in no way be at variance with the state-

ment of KAVI, No. 21 ff., that his *limmu* period comprised 33 years. Possibly the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (as indicated in KAVI, No. 22) exceeds his official reign (as indicated in the Khorsabad list) by one year, because the first *limmu* of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and the *limmu* of his successor Aššûr-dân II did not occur in the same year of their respective reigns, the *limmu* of Aššûr-dân apparently occurring one year later. For instance, if in accordance with the prevailing custom Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II's first *limmu* year coincided with his official second year, Aššûr-dân II might have taken the *limmu* office only in his third regnal year. In support of this conclusion we can, it seems, even adduce the fact that in the 30th year of the Tukulti-apil-Ešarra *limmu* period, as reckoned by KAVI, No. 21 ff.—this year being identical with the king's 31st regnal year—Tukulti-apil-Ešarra to all appearances held the *limmu* office for the second time,<sup>268</sup> and since, according to our conclusions, Aššûr-dân II ascended the throne already in the following year (31st year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's *limmu* period, 32d year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's reign), the king or the royal fiscus may well have taken the stand that, after the royal house had borne the great expenses for the *limmu* office only three years before, it would be necessary to postpone the new king's *limmu* for one year beyond the customary date. Unfortunately, however, the single *limmu*'s of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II and Aššûr-dân II are not completely preserved in KAVI, No. 21 ff., and of the latter king not even the summary of his *limmu* years is preserved. Since we therefore are not in a position to check the correctness of the above assumption, a final decision must be

<sup>267</sup> A conveniently usable transliteration of each *limmu* list with its dividing lines is given by Ungnad in RIA II, 418 ff. The various texts are synoptically arranged.

<sup>268</sup> Of the name of the *limmu* official of that year KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 5, lowest fragment, has preserved only *Y Tukulti(-izkim)-apil(-...)*.

postponed. Although Nassouhi's copy of Assur A indicates traces of the number 3 as last part of the number for Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's years of reign, the photographs permit only the recognition of the last vertical unit wedge but do not show with any certainty fitting traces of the two first verticals of 3.<sup>269</sup>

In this connection it may be mentioned that KAVI, No. 21 ff., column 6, according to Schroeder's copy, sums up the *limmu* years of Aššûr-nāšir-apli II (101) as 24 years. This—provided Schroeder's copy is correct—is, of course, owing to a mistake of the ancient copyist, since according to Canon II<sup>270</sup>+Canon I<sup>271</sup> the period beginning with the *limmu* of Aššûr-nāšir-apli and ending with the *limmu* of Šarru-ur-niše—this is the last *limmu* before the summary of KAVI, No. 21 ff.—numbers 25 *limmu*'s, the error probably lying in a contraction of the 22d and 23d *limmu*. Judging from this observation, one cannot entirely disregard the possibility that the total "33 years" given in KAVI, No. 21 ff., for the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97) may likewise be owing to a mistake. In this case, however, it would have consisted in erroneously counting a certain *limmu* twice. If, on the other hand, the 32 years of the Khorsabad list should turn out to be a mistake for 33, all years of the king-list chronology prior to 966 would, of course, have to be raised by one year.

Although the *limmu* list commonly called Canon II, to date the only list covering the *limmu* period of Tukulti-Ninurta II (100), enumerates only 6 *limmu*'s as constituting that *limmu* period—namely, the *limmu*'s of Tukulti-Ninurta, Taklāk-ana-bēlija, Abu-ilāja, Ilu-

milki, Iārī, and Aššûr-sēzibanni—the Khorsabad list ascribes to Tukulti-Ninurta 7 years of reign. To be sure, since as just pointed out reign and *limmu* period need not be of the same length, one could very well explain the discrepancy in the number of years by the assumption that Tukulti-Ninurta took the *limmu* office not, as was the custom with most kings, in his second but in his third official year of reign, while his successor Aššûr-nāšir-apli again complied with the established custom and took the office in his second regnal year. In this case the year of Tukulti-Ninurta's accession to the throne would, of course, be identical with the last *limmu* but two of the *limmu* period of his predecessor Adad-nerāri II (99).

However, the following solution of the problem is much more probable. After having described in his tablet inscription, Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II*, the last events of the *limmu* year of Abu-ilāja (obv. 1-10)<sup>272</sup> and the campaigns and other events of the *limmu* year of Ilu-milki (obv. 11-40), in the rest of the inscription Tukulti-Ninurta describes at great length the events of the next *limmu* year (obv. 41—rev. 64).<sup>273</sup> This *limmu*, however, is designated not, as we might expect on the basis of Canon II, as that of Iārī but as the *limmu* of Na'd(i)-ilu,<sup>274</sup> the exact date given in obverse, line 41, at the beginning of this section of the report being Nisān 25 and the inscription itself being dated in Arahsamna 9 of the same *limmu*. Since Scheil's publication of the inscription the explanation of this fact has universally been that Iārī and Na'd(i)-ilu

<sup>272</sup> This *limmu* is not mentioned on Scheil's tablet, since this tablet begins in the middle of the report on the events of the *limmu* year of Abu-ilāja. See following note.

<sup>273</sup> The tablet published by Scheil is, of course, the continuation of another tablet relating the events from Tukulti-Ninurta's accession year to the middle of the *limmu* of Abu-ilāja.

<sup>274</sup> Na'd-ilu, Na'd-ilu.

<sup>269</sup> Should the 3 have been suggested by KAVI, No. 21 ff.? One would be grateful to Nassouhi for a renewed examination of the number.

<sup>270</sup> K 4388 (2 R 68, No. 2).

<sup>271</sup> K 4329 (2 R 68, No. 1).

were *limmu* officials of the same year, Scheil even hinting that since the first part of the sign *ja* at the beginning of the sign group *Ia-ri-i*, i.e., the sign *i*, is used as ideogram for *na'du*, one of the names might be a wrong reading (or different writing?) of the other name, unless the eponym successively bore two names (*op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.). But in view of the fact now known from the Khorsabad list that Tukulti-Ninurta ruled 7 and not 6 years, it is of course a much simpler and likelier explanation that Canon II has erroneously omitted the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu and that this *limmu* followed immediately that of Abu-milki, while the *limmu* of Iarî represented the year after the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu. In other words, the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu represents the 5th *limmu* of Tukulti-Ninurta's *limmu* period, that of Iarî the 6th *limmu*, and that of Aššûr-šêzibanni the 7th *limmu*. This solution recommends itself not only because it solves both problems—the difference in the numbers and the Na'd(i)-ilu – Iarî problem — by a single assumption, while with the usual assumption each problem requires a separate solution, but especially because it is in harmony with the impression concerning the *limmu* of Na'd(i)-ilu one would get from Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription without being influenced by Canon II.

But, probable as this solution is, it cannot yet be regarded as definitively proved. A great help to achieve this aim would derive from a final establishment of the order of the *limmu*'s of Tukulti-Ninurta's predecessor Adad-nerâri II, of some of which only the beginnings or the ends of the names are preserved. For this would give us the possibility of determining not only the length of Adad-nerâri's *limmu* period but also the length of the *limmu* period of Tukulti-Ninurta. It is not possible here to take up this complicated problem, but note at least that Ungnad's

estimate (in RIA II, 48) of the length of Adad-nerâri's *limmu* period as 23 years is incompatible with the statement of our Khorsabad list that Adad-nerâri II's reign lasted 21 years and that of Tukulti-Ninurta II 7 years. For even under the assumption that Tukulti-Ninurta's *limmu* is identical with his 3d regnal year, Adad-nerâri's *limmu* year would still correspond to his first regnal year, a correspondence for which we have no parallel elsewhere. Weidner's assumption (RIA I, 31) that the *limmu* period of Adad-nerâri comprised 22 years, on the other hand, would be quite unobjectionable, if it is assumed that the *limmu* of Tukulti-Ninurta II corresponds to his 3d regnal year, since then Adad-nerâri II's *limmu* would represent his second year of reign; but in this case it would actually be necessary to assume that the *limmu*'s of Na'd(i)-ilu and Iarî were identical.

We now turn to Aššûr-nerâri V (101), the last king of the Khorsabad list. The *limmu* list KAVI, No. 21 ff., reckons this king's *limmu* period from the king's own *limmu* (753 B.C.) to that of Bêlu-dân (744 B.C.), the last *limmu* before that of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, and the scribe expressly sums up these ten *limmu*'s in the subscription as "10 years." According to our king list the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V likewise lasted 10 years. Now we know from the eponym chronicle K 51 that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III ascended the throne in the second month of the year 745 B.C., and since this year began under the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V, it represented, of course, Aššûr-nerâri's last, i.e., his tenth year. Consequently, the official first year of Aššûr-nerâri V was the year 754, the preceding year 755 being, of course, the year of his accession to the throne. According to the king-list statement, therefore, the *limmu* year of King Aššûr-nerâri V, i.e., the year 753, corresponds to

Aššûr-nerâri's second year of reign, while his first year of reign is identical with the last *limmu* before Aššûr-nerâri's own *limmu*, i.e., that of Ninurta-šêzibanni. The year in which Aššûr-nerâri ascended the throne and the year in which his predecessor Aššûr-dân III died, finally, is identical with the *limmu* year of Iqîšu, the second *limmu* year before that of Aššûr-nerâri. In other words, the official reign of Aššûr-nerâri V—to state it explicitly—comprised the 10-year period from 754 (*limmu* of Ninurta-šêzibanni) to 745 (*limmu* of Nabû-bêla-ušur).

Instead of the 10 years attested by the Khorsabad list, all modern scholars have ascribed to Aššûr-nerâri V only 8 years of reign. Their assumption was chiefly based on the fact that the eponym chronicles, which they credited with being very reliable with regard to the indication of the regnal periods, place their division lines before 753 and after 746, including therefore the 8 years 753–746, believed to be the official regnal period of Aššûr-nerâri V. It will be observed that in the chronological system of these scholars the actually last of Aššûr-nerâri's 10 years of reign, i.e., the year 745, in which Aššûr-nerâri V died and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra became king, is reckoned as the first year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, while the actual official first year of Aššûr-nerâri V is believed to be the last year of his predecessor Aššûr-dân III.

The assignment of Aššûr-nerâri's last year to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra may be regarded as of minor consequence, since it was made with full recognition of the fact that the first 42 (or 41) days of the year designated as Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's first year still belonged to the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V,<sup>275</sup> that designation representing

<sup>275</sup> Note, e.g., that Forrer in his "Zeittafel" (MVaG XX, Heft 3, pp. 26 ff.) for the year 745 lists as "Hauptereignis": "13.II. besteigt T(ukulti-apil-Ešarra) den Thron."

in truth merely an unusual solution of the problem whether that year should be called after Aššûr-nerâri, who ruled only a month and 12 days at its beginning, or after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, who ruled in it for by far its greatest part. This solution, moreover, seemed to be justified by the fact that in his inscriptions Tukulti-apil-Ešarra himself, in opposition to the up-to-then customary designation of the new king's accession year as the *rêš šarrûtišu* year, considered his accession year as his first year of reign. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that for chronological purposes the use of two different methods of counting the regnal years is a rather precarious matter, since it is liable to cause misunderstandings, to meet which constant indications as to which method is used would be necessary. For the sake of uniformity modern chronology should, of course, count the years of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra in the same manner in which the years of all previous reigns are counted, namely, by designating the first full calendar year of his reign and not his accession year as his first year. The fact that our Khorsabad list gives Aššûr-nerâri V 10 years of reign, the last of which represents Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's accession year, as well as the fact that Canon IV places the division line marking the beginning of the *limmu* period of Sin-ahhê-eriba before 704, i.e., the year after Sin-ahhê-eriba's accession year, and probably also before 744, the year after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III's accession year, clearly shows that not all Assyrian chronologers adopted the counting method used by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and his chancellor.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>276</sup> On the other hand, after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra had set the precedent, the eponym chronicles and some of the *limmu* lists placed the *limmu* period dividing-line likewise before the accession years of Šulmānu-ašarēd V, Šarrukīn II, Sin-ahhê-eriba, and Aššûr-ahāiddina, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's successors, evidently in the endeavor to follow a consistent course. How far they would go in this endeavor is well illustrated by

Actually wrong, however, is the dating of Aššūr-nerāri V's first year in 753 and of his accession year in 754, since this means a real deviation from the actual dates by one year. This error is the more serious as it happens to involve also the dates for the reigns of Aššūr-nerāri V's predecessors, at least as far back as Šamši-Adad V, all of these reigns being likewise placed one year too late.<sup>277</sup> As may conveniently be seen from Forrer's synchronistic table in MVaG XX, Heft 3, 28–31, his datings make the first year of each of the kings Adad-nerāri III (104), Šulmānu-ašarēd IV (105), Aššūr-dān III (106), and Aššūr-nerāri V (107) correspond to the king's own *limmu* year. Obviously, however, it is very unlikely that a new king took upon himself the duties of the *limmu* office in his first official year of reign. As far as we know to date, the main duty of a

the application of the new method to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's reign, although this king's accession to the throne occurred at the end of the year, on the 28th of Adar. The double datings of Meek, AJSL XXXV, 137 (K2856): . . . . . *limmu* of Mitunu (700 B.C.) = 6th year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, and Johns, ADD, No. 230: Ajjāru 8, *limmu* of Manzanē (684 B.C.) = 22d year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, and No. 447: Ajjāru 1, 23d year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba = *limmu* of Mannu-ki-Adad (683 B.C.), show that the method of counting the years of the king from his accession year was in actual use, at least with certain officials, even a considerable time after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. Since the months mentioned in the dates just referred to precede Abu, the month in which Sin-aḫḫē-eriba had ascended the throne, it is of course impossible to take the regnal years of the double datings as the king's actual years of reign, which begin with the date of his accession to the throne. Note, that slightly more numerous double datings from Sin-aḫḫē-eriba's reign (3 R 2, No. 19 = 698 B.C.; *ibid.*, No. 20 = 694 B.C.; Johns, ADD, No. 30 = 684 B.C., and No. 447 = 683 B.C., all of them transliterated by Ungnad in RIA II, 410) as well as all known double datings from Šarrukīn's and Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's reigns (see *ibid.*, pp. 415 f.), follow the usual method of counting the regnal years of a king, i.e., from the first calendar year after the king's accession to the throne. Also Forrer, Weidner, and others, in counting the regnal years of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, follow this method, thereby simply disregarding the inscriptional evidence concerning the existence of a different method of counting the regnal years of that king.

<sup>277</sup> In the case of Šamši-Adad V only the end date of his reign is affected.

holder of this office was to care for the needs of the temples of Aššūr and other deities, and fulfilment of this duty necessarily involved quite extraordinary expenses, for which provisions had to be made a considerable time in advance. Naturally one had to reckon with the possibility that the accession to the throne of a new king might take place in the last months of the year and in such a case practically no time at all was left for those preparations, quite apart from the fact that the change of government itself with all its consequences would usually claim the whole attention of the new ruler. It may be noted that even Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III (108), although he ascended the throne as early as the 13th day of the second month, held the *limmu* office not in the immediately following year, but in the year after that, i.e., in the second year after his accession year. Šulmānu-ašarēd V (109) even postponed his *limmu* to his 4th year of reign, Šarrukīn II (110) to his 3d year, and Sin-aḫḫē-eriba (111) to the 18th calendar year after his accession to the throne, while Aššūr-aḫa-iddina (112) in his whole 12-year reign did not hold the *limmu* office at all. Of Aššūr-bāni-apli (113), finally, we know that he did not hold the office at least in the first half of his long reign. We also know from the inscriptions of Aššūr-nāṣir-apli II (101) and Šulmānu-ašarēd III (112) that the *limmu* of either of the two kings coincided not with his first but with his second regnal year, the situation with which we are confronted, therefore, being this: Both before and after the period of the four kings 104–107, during which the king's own *limmu* is supposed to represent the first regnal year of the king, we have kings who held the *limmu* office in their second regnal year (101, 102, and 108), a fact which would seem to make it very probable that each of the kings who reigned

between them likewise held that office in his second year of reign.<sup>278</sup> Forrer's contrary argument<sup>279</sup> that the identity of the king's *limmu* with his first regnal year is proved for each of the kings from Adad-nerāri IV (104) to Aššūr-nerāri V (107) by the fact that the section dividing-line is uniformly placed before the *limmu* year of those kings in every *limmu* list, is actually without any foundation, since the *limmu* lists place that division line indiscriminately before the *limmu* of every king prior to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, even before that of Šamši-Adad V (103), although Forrer<sup>280</sup> and Ungnad<sup>281</sup> erroneously assume that in the eponym chronicle Rm. 2, 97, it is placed before the *limmu* of Bēlu-bunnajja (823 B.C.), which immediately precedes that of Šamši-Adad V (822).<sup>282</sup> The only conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the dividing-line as such indicates not the

<sup>278</sup> This conclusion was already drawn by G. Smith in *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 206; and by E. Schrader in *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 312–30 (esp. pp. 328 ff.).

<sup>279</sup> MVaG XX (1915), Heft 3, 15.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> RIA II, 433.

<sup>282</sup> The reason for this error is that Forrer considered obv., l. 10, of Rm. 2, 97 (Bezold, PSBA XI (1889), 287 and Pl. III): [ . . . ] a na mātqu-e | DINGIR GAL ištū dē-ri it-tal-ka (events of 831 B.C.), as belonging to and being the continuation of l. 9: [ . . . ] ša dī-kak-zi | a-na mātqu-e (832 B.C.) with a faulty repetition of a-na mātqu-e in l. 10. The eponym chronicle reports three expeditions to Que, namely, one in 833 (*limmu* of Iaḫālu), one in 832 (*limmu* of Ulūlajju), and one in 831 (*limmu* of Šar-pati-bēli). Forrer's conception of the passage is adopted also by Ungnad in RIA II, 433, where the year numbers 831 to 816 should be reduced by one unit, with the missing number in l. 10 to be supplied as 831.

Lacking conclusive force are also Forrer's further arguments (MVaG XX, Heft 3, 16) that the annotation to 810, "in the land," makes it unlikely that 810 was the first year of Adad-nerāri III and that the fact that the eponym chronicle reports an expedition to Itur'a both for 783 and 782, makes it improbable that 782 was the first year of Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, Forrer's idea evidently being that the new king would hardly have undertaken in his first year an expedition to the same country against which his predecessor campaigned in his last year. (Forrer ascribes these arguments—as far as I can see, incorrectly—to Schrader.)

beginning or the end of a king's reign but the beginning or the end of a *limmu* period, i.e.—at least in the time before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III—the period from a king's *limmu* to the next king's *limmu*.<sup>283</sup> With this being their purpose the division lines before the *limmu*'s of Adad-nerāri III, Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, Aššūr-dān III, and Aššūr-nerāri V are, of course, irrelevant for the question with which *limmu* year their first year of reign is identical—except that the facts known about the beginning of the reigns of Adad-nerāri II, Šulmānu-ašarēd III, and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III make it likely that also in all other cases before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III the king's first year corresponds to the *limmu* immediately preceding the king's *limmu*.

Final proof for the last point is furnished by the statements of the Khorsabad king list on the length of the kings' reigns during the period in question. If we synchronize the 35 years given in the list to Šulmānu-ašarēd III, the 13 years of Šamši-Adad V, the 28 years of Adad-nerāri III, the 10 of Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, the 18 of Aššūr-dān III, and the 10 of Aššūr-nerāri V with the years of the *limmu* lists—starting with the first regnal year of Šulmānu-ašarēd III, which is known with all desirable certainty to correspond to the *limmu* of Šarru-ur-niše (858 B.C.), the last before Šulmānu-ašarēd's *limmu*—the first year of each of the succeeding kings down to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III in every case corresponds to the *limmu* before the king's own

<sup>283</sup> Identity of the *limmu* period of a king with his reign—at least before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and doubtless excepting Aššūr-nāṣir-apli II and Šulmānu-ašarēd III—is still assumed by Ungnad in RIA II; cf. his remark on p. 414 (under 17) that KAVI, No. 21–24, which at the end of each *limmu* period adds the total of the *limmu*'s composing the period, "unterscheidet sich von den anderen Listen dadurch, dass bei jedem Herrscher die Zahl der Regierungsjahre angegeben wird."

*limmu*.<sup>284</sup> As especially important, however, it may be noted that in order to achieve the transition from the period in which concededly the first year of the king coincides with the last *limmu* before the king's own *limmu*,<sup>285</sup> to the period for which identity of the king's first year with the king's *limmu* year is assumed,<sup>286</sup> Forrer finds himself compelled to assume a 14-year reign for Šamši-Adad V. The Khorsabad list, however, states that this king ruled 13 years. Since Šamši-Adad's *limmu* period likewise lasted 13 years, a change in the correspondence of the king's *limmu* year with the king's second regnal year after Šamši-Adad V's reign is, of course, entirely out of the question.

With these facts established, the reigns of Adad-nerāri III, Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, Aššūr-dān III, and Aššūr-nerāri V, as they are commonly assumed, must without exception be set one year earlier. This fact is naturally of great historical importance, since by that advance the events reported in the eponym chronicles for the year hitherto considered the last of the king concerned now necessarily must fall into the first official year of his successor. This is the more important because to date we have no inscriptions of the kings in question from statements of which we could establish whether the years in question belonged to the reign of the preceding king or the following.

Very interesting is the observation that in the Khorsabad list statement on Aššūr-nerāri V the number 10 indicating his

<sup>284</sup> First year of Šamši-Adad V = *limmu* of Bēlu-bunnaja, 823 B.C.; first year of Adad-nerāri III = *limmu* of Bēlu-qāti-šabat, 810; first year of Šulmānu-ašarēd IV = *limmu* of Ilu-ma-le, 782; first year of Aššūr-dān III = *limmu* of Aššūr-bēla-ušur, 772; first year of Aššūr-nerāri V = *limmu* of Ninurta-šezibanni, 754; first year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III = *limmu* of Bēlu-dān, 744.

<sup>285</sup> This period ends, according to Forrer, with Šamši-Adad V (103).

<sup>286</sup> This period begins, according to Forrer, with Adad-nerāri III (104).

regnal years is written over an erased number, which from the wedge remnants and their position still can be recognized as an 8. This obviously shows that the Aššūr original, from which the scribe of the Khorsabad tablet copied his list, concluded with the reign of a king before Adad-nerāri V, so that the scribe of our tablet wishing to bring his list up to date, had to supply the missing reign of Aššūr-nerāri V from a *limmu* list. The list used by him for this purpose was evidently one of those in which the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra was counted from his accession year, leaving therefore only a *limmu* period of 8 years for Aššūr-nerāri V. Inadvertently the scribe inserted in his statement on Aššūr-nerāri V these 8 years as the total of the king's regnal years but, noticing his mistake in time, he changed the 8 to a 10.

#### VI. THE TOTAL OF RULERS ACCORDING TO OUR KING LIST AND SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST A

The kings enumerated in the Khorsabad king list total 107, the last ruler, as mentioned before, being Aššūr-nerāri V (754-745 B.C.). Of the kings from Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, his successor, to the end of the Assyrian empire, the sixth, Aššūr-bāni-apli (668-633[-x]), was therefore—according to the king-list tradition—the 113th ruler of Aššūr.

While the Nassouhi list and the Khorsabad list do not themselves state the number of kings enumerated by them, the Synchronistic King List A adds at the end of its enumeration the following summary:

82 kings of Aššūr from Ērišu, son of Ilušumma, to Aššūr-bāni-apli, son of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina  
98 kings of Akkad from Sumulail to Kandil-anu

This statement agrees comparatively well with the king list, for since according

to this list Ilušumma, Ērišu I's father, is the 32d king of Aššūr, Aššūr-bāni-apli, the 113th king of Aššūr, is the 81st king since Ērišu I, the difference between the two totals being just one single unit. This close agreement is a welcome further corroboration of the conclusion drawn from many other observations, namely, that all historical knowledge in the later periods of Assyria is based on a uniform tradition embodied in and transmitted by the *limmu* chronicles, the *limmu* lists, and the king lists, all of which by an ever progressing process of text shortening have developed out of the original Assyrian annals, i.e., the records kept by an official historiographer on the political and other noteworthy events of each year, each of these annual reports beginning with, or somehow using in its introductory remarks, the well-known *ina limme* X (Y, Z, etc.).

Small as the difference in the totals by just one unit is, one nevertheless ponders how it could arise. But since we do not have the complete text of the Synchronistic King List, and since therefore a definite answer is impossible for the present, we can hardly do more than surmise what the reason possibly might have been. For instance, the higher number of the Synchronistic King List may quite well be owing to a simple counting error. But if the reason was a more substantial one, i.e., if the scribe actually counted an additional ruler, one could think, for example, of the possibility that he started the counting of the Assyrian rulers erroneously not with Ērišu I but with Ilušumma, although in the list, according to its subscription, the latter was mentioned merely as the father of Ērišu I. There is, however, nothing that could be adduced in favor of this explanation. Another plausible explanation would seem to be that in his summary the scribe counted

in an opposing king whose reign was officially ignored. For example, one could think of Aššūr-dannin-apla,<sup>287</sup> son of Šulmānu-ašarēd III, who revolted against his father and apparently maintained himself through the six years 826-821, bearing in the eponym chronicles the remark *si-ḫu*, "revolt," until he was defeated finally by his brother Šamši-Adad V.<sup>288</sup> Note especially that one of the cities which sided with him was the city of Aššūr, a fact that could well have given him the opportunity of proclaiming himself king of Aššūr. Though ignored in the king list, Aššūr-dannin-apla was doubtless mentioned in the original annals similarly as he is mentioned in Šamši-Adad V's inscription I R 29 ff. In case Babylonia had taken a hand in the affairs of that time he would likewise appear in the synchronistic histories, and therefore he might also have been mentioned in the Synchronistic King List, which originally, as we have seen, was an index to the synchronistic histories. But whether the Synchronistic King List actually mentioned him or some other pretender to the throne it is entirely impossible to say. In point of fact, it is not very likely, since at the time when the original index was changed into a synchronistic king list the latter will naturally have been shaped entirely after the pattern of the simple Assyrian king list.

The eponym chronicles furthermore report that the city of Aššūr was in revolt in the *limmu*'s of Bur-Sa.gale and Tāb-bēlu, i.e., in the years 763-762 B.C., which represent the 10th and 11th years of Aššūr-dān III (106), whose official reign comprised the years 772-755 B.C. Most probably this revolt again was headed by

<sup>287</sup> I decided on this transliteration because I believe that the meaning of the name is: "O Aššūr, strengthen the heir!" (or "my heir," if the last component originally was *apli*, "my heir").

<sup>288</sup> Šamši-Adad, I R 29 ff., col. 1, ll. 39-53.

a usurper who, since he was in possession of Aššūr, proclaimed himself king of Aššūr. In point of fact, this assumption seems to receive some support from the fact that the eponym chronicle K 51 places a dividing-line before the *limmu* of Bur-<sup>3</sup>Sa.gal.e. Since it is the purpose of the dividing-lines to denote the *limmu* periods of the various kings, the dividing-line in K 51 in the middle of Aššūr-dân III's reign must appear as very strange. It therefore seems a plausible theory that originally it was intended to designate the change of government at Aššūr. Possibly it was taken over from an eponym chronicle written and kept at Aššūr, where the reign of the usurper naturally could not be overlooked, since the city was under his rule. But as regards the problem whether the unknown usurper may have been the one additional ruler of the Synchronistic King List A total, no more definite decision can be arrived at than in the case of Aššūr-dannin-apla, since here, too, we have no information concerning participation of Babylonia in the presumable struggle between Aššūr-dân and the presumable anti-king at Aššūr.

Not to be left unmentioned is, finally, Sammuramat, wife of King Šamši-Adad V, and mother of King Adad-nerâri III, whom Weidner since 1921<sup>289</sup>—under the influence of Unger's publication of the Saba'a stele of Adad-nerâri III<sup>290</sup>—actually lists, in his various lists of kings, as a ruler with 4 years of reign,<sup>291</sup> to be deducted, of course, from the 28 years of her son Adad-nerâri III, to

<sup>289</sup> MVAG XXVI, Heft 2 (1921, preface 1920) p. 66.

<sup>290</sup> Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III aus Saba'a und Semiramis* (1916).

<sup>291</sup> In MVAG XXVI, loc. cit.: 811–808; in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1925), p. 452, and later: 809–806. Unger (*op. cit.*, p. 19) gives Sammuramat 5 years (811–806). Similarly Weissbach in *RIA I* (1932), 299: the first five years of Adad-nerâri III (810–782).

whom Weidner therefore ascribes only 24 years.<sup>292</sup> To be sure, if the speculations about Sammuramat and her son Adad-nerâri III are correct—i.e., if Adad-nerâri III became king when he was a child, if Sammuramat was the real ruler during his minority, and if the actual government devolved on Adad-nerâri only in the fifth year after the death of Šamši-Adad V—Sammuramat could quite well have been mentioned in an extensive synchronistic history and consequently in the Synchronistic King List, provided, of course, she played a part in Babylonian history. To do so she would indeed have had ample opportunity, as will be seen from the following calculation.

Since the first 3 years of Šamši-Adad V were still taken up with the suppression of Aššūr-dannin-apla's revolt, the expedition against Marduk-balaṣsu-iqbī of Babylonia, which Šamši-Adad designates as his fourth campaign, could not have taken place before the 7th year of Šamši-Adad. Moreover, the campaign, in the course of which Bau-aḥa-iddina was captured, as well as the expedition to Kaldu which was simply the continuation of the expedition against Bau-aḥa-iddina, must have occurred at a still later time. To all appearances it took place only in the 12th year of Šamši-Adad V, since for that year the eponym chronicle reports an expedition to Kaldu. Since Šamši-Adad V died in the next year (811 B.C.), it is evident that the ensuing 12(?)—year domination over Babylonia—which is indicated in the chronicle, King, CEBK II, pp. 147 ff., rev., l. 7, with the remark: 12(?)<sup>293</sup> *šanāti šarru ina*

<sup>292</sup> AOF IV (1927), 17.

<sup>293</sup> The number is not so certain as it seems according to King's copy. In addition to the destruction of the uppermost surface layer of the tablet just at this point the number seems to be written either over an erasure or over a small object (piece of straw?) originally sticking in the clay surface. In its present condition the number could quite as well be read 33 35, or 10 (written over an erased 30).

*māti lā . . .*,<sup>294</sup> “for 12(?) years no king . . . in the land (= Babylonia)” —lasted well into the reign of Adad-nerâri III. In her role as regent of Assyria, Sammuramat could well have taken a hand in the political affairs of Babylonia. However, it should be kept in mind that the assumptions on which this speculation rests are by no means proved. For there is no conclusive evidence that Sammuramat ruled as regent or even as queen in her own name. The fact that the governor Bêlutarši-ilima of Kalḫu set up two Nabû statues in a temple of that city “for the life of Adad-nerâri, king of Assyria, his lord, and for the life of Sammuramat, the MUNUS-É-GAL, his lady,” and also “for his own life,” proves only that Sammuramat commanded sufficient influence at the court to let it appear permissible and advisable for the governor of Kalḫu to mention her in addition to the king in his dedicatory inscription to Nabû.<sup>295</sup> The fact, furthermore, that a *limmu* stele of Sammuramat has been found among the king stelae at Aššūr proves with certainty, of course, only that the king's mother had or controlled such a considerable income that she could pay out of it the expenses or rather part of the expenses for the sustenance of the Aššūr temple, etc. Note especially that Sammuramat is not named in any of the *limmu* lists and that under ordinary circumstances this would indicate that during her activity as *limmu*

official she was not the main eponym, i.e., the president of the *limmu* collegium, but only a simple member of it. One might, of course, argue that the stele was set up because she was the guardian of her son Adad-nerâri III at the time of the latter's *limmu* in 809 B.C., the official 2d year of Adad-nerâri. But in view of the fact that the *limmu* lists name that *limmu* after Adad-nerâri, it would seem probable that this *limmu* was documented not by a stele of the king's mother but by a stele of the king himself, the decisive point evidently being that the outlay for the temples in that year came from the king's fortune and not from the fortune of the king's mother. Moreover, if Sammuramat's stele had been erected only because she was the guardian of Adad-nerâri during his *limmu* year, one might expect that this would somehow have been indicated in the stele inscription; that is, the inscription should at least show the form: “Adad-nerâri, king of Aššūr, and Sammuramat, mother of Adad-nerâri,” instead of: “Sammuramat, mother of Adad-nerâri.” The inscription evidently shows Sammuramat as holder of the *limmu* office in her own right. Since it is not probable that Sammuramat held that office at the same time as her son—this would have meant a double contribution by the royal house—her *limmu* year might therefore be put in any other year of Adad-nerâri's reign, but probably in a year some time after her son's *limmu*.

Furthermore, from the passage I R 35, No. 1, lines 2–5, in which Adad-nerâri calls himself the *šarru šā ina šehēri-šū Aššur* <sup>3</sup>*šar*, <sup>4</sup>*ī-gi-gi ut-tu-šū-ma mal-kut la šā-na-an ū-mal-lu-ū qa-tuš-šū*, it need by no means be concluded that Adad-nerâri became king when he was a child, for the fact that the god Aššūr chose him to be the future king could, of course, have happened many years before the death of his

<sup>294</sup> King's copy shows a clear NU.GAL, but on the original the traces of the second sign do not seem to indicate a GAL.

<sup>295</sup> Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 20, is of the opinion that the inscriptions on the Nabû stelae might be dated as late as 787 B.C., because the eponym chronicle states that in that year “the god Nabû moved into the new temple.” But since the chronicle reports that in the preceding year, 788, the foundations of the Nabû temple of Nineveh were laid, the statement for 787 refers, of course, not to a Nabû temple at Kalḫu but to a temple at Nineveh.

father and his own accession to the throne.<sup>296</sup>

As regards the passage on the Saba'a stele, finally, it may be recalled that, as I have shown in OLZ XXXI (1928), column 700, the phrase in the Šarrukīn of Akkad inscription (UPUM V, No. 34 +) UPUM XV, No. 41, column 23, compartments 48'-53': *in ša<sub>10</sub>-an-tim ša<sub>10</sub>-li-iš-tim ša-ti<sup>4</sup>en-lil šar-ru-tám i-di-nu-šum*, means: "in the third year since Enlil had given him the kingship." Correspondingly, the phrase in line 11 of the inscription on the Saba'a stele of Adad-nerāri III, *ina MU-5-KAM ina kussē šarru-ti rabi-iš ú-ši-bu-ma*—which, if one does not want to emend the text, can be read only *ina ḥamušti šanat ina kussē šarru-ti rabi-iš ú-ši-bu-ma*—means not "(als) ich mich im 5. Jahre auf den Thron (meiner) Majestät erhaben setzte" (Unger); nor "in (my) fifth year, when I took my seat on the royal throne in might" (Luckenbill), but "in the fifth year since I majestically took my seat on the royal throne."<sup>297</sup> In other words, the

<sup>296</sup> Note e.g., that according to Aššūr-bāni-apli's statement, Rassam Cylinder, 5 R 1-10, col. 1, ll. 3-5, "Aššūr and Sin already in the distant past by name had noted him for kingship and in the womb of his mother had (expressly) formed him for the shepherd-ship over Assyria."

<sup>297</sup> For the reading of the phrase compare the Old Akkadian date formulas, e.g., Thureau-Dangin, RTC, No. 144 + 106 (+86): *in ištīpat šanat | 4Na-ra-am-4Sin | uš-ši bīt 4En-lil | in Nippurimki | ú bīt 4Innana in USLAN-AB<sup>ki</sup> | iš-ku-nu*, "in the first year since Narām-Sin laid the foundations of the temple of Enlil in Nippur and of the temple of Innana in USLAN-AB." For the time of Adad-nerāri III, the adding of the relative clause immediately (i.e., without *ša*) to its regens, which makes it necessary to put *šattu* in the construct state, is rather remarkable, since in nonpoetical inscriptions of the later periods this construction is found comparatively rarely—excepting, of course, the cases in which a substantive, or a substantive preceded by a preposition, has developed into a kind of conjunction—and usually it occurs only in more or less stereotyped expressions. However, the phrases expressing the idea "the *x*th year since" might well belong to that category of expressions, at least in the vernacular language. On the other hand, in view of the many errors found in the inscription of the Saba'a stele, it would appear quite as well possible that the sculptor inadvertently omitted a *ša*, the intended text then offering the phrase in the more usual

passage does not indicate that Aššūr-nerāri ascended the throne in his fifth year of reign<sup>298</sup> or in any other fifth year, but it contains a simple reference to his fifth regnal year<sup>299</sup> as the year of the event related immediately after it. The passage therefore furnishes no indication whatsoever for a supposed four-year regency of Sammuramat, unless one should feel inclined to assume that the expedition to Syria and Damascus which is described in

form: *ina ḥamušti šatti šā ina kussē šarrāti rabiš āšibu*.

By the way, it may be pointed out that the *KAM* in *MU-5-KAM*, *U-5-KAM*, etc., is not a determinative for ordinals or numerals in general and that for this reason such transliterations as *šattu 5kam*, *umu 5kam*, etc., should disappear from Assyriological publications. As should be well known by this time, the real character of the so-called "ideogram" in the Akkadian system of writing is that it renders an Akkadian word or phrase with the sign or sign group with which the corresponding Sumerian word or phrase is written. Since *mu-5-kam*, *u-5-kam*, etc., are the Sumerian equivalents of the Akkadian expressions for "fifth year," "fifth day," etc., it is evident that the whole sign group *MU-5-KAM*, as well as the whole sign group *U-5-KAM*, represents one single "ideogram." For the Akkadian reading, e.g., of *U-5-KAM* as referring to a day of the month cf., e.g., the names *Mār-ešā* (written *DUMU-eš-ra-a* or *DUMU-U-20-KAM*) and *Mār-selāšā* (written *DUMU-30-KAM*). For other Akkadian renderings of *U-5-KAM* cf. the equation of *u-1-kam* to *u-10-kam* with *u-mu-ak-kal*, *šī-nu-ú* (< *šinām* < *šin-ame*, etc.), *še-lal(-ti)-šu-nu*, *ir-bīt u-mu*, *ḥa-mil-ti*, etc., in Hilprecht, BE XX 1, No. 44 (more complete: Pinches, PSBA XXVI [February, 1904], 51-56).

<sup>298</sup> Unger's and Luckenbill's translations are actually in themselves contradictory. According to the established usage the reign of a king begins with the ceremony of seating himself—or, in case it was a very small child, of being seated—on the throne. Since according to the limmu lists (king lists, etc.) the year 810 was the first regnal year of Adad-nerāri, he must of course already have ascended the throne in 811, and could not five years later ascend the throne a second time. (Cf. Luckenbill, ARAB, I, § 732: "the king's accession to the throne in his fifth year.") Unger (*op. cit.*, p. 19) assumes that Adad-nerāri, although having inherited the throne at the death of his father and having been king since that time, "wegen seiner Jugend erst 'im 5. Jahre' die Regierung selbst übernahm;" but *ina kussē šarrāti āšib* is the equivalent of "he became king," and not of "he himself assumed the functions and the power of the king (after having been king for some time without actually ruling)."

<sup>299</sup> The fifth year (*MU = šattu*) since Adad-nerāri's accession to the throne is, of course, the equivalent of the king's fifth regnal year (*palā*).

the Saba'a inscription is identical with the expedition *a-na eli tam-tim*, "to the shore of the sea," which is reported in the eponym chronicle for the year 802. In this case the year 806 would be the first year of Adad-nerāri, and the first four years of Adad-nerāri (810-807) could then be ascribed to Sammuramat. It may be noted, however, that on the stone slab from Kalḫu, I R 35, No. 1, Adad-nerāri III divides his campaigns into two groups. The first comprises the expeditions against Ellipi, Ḫarḫar, Araziaš, Mesu, the Medes, Gizilbunda, Munna, Parsua, Alabria, Abdadana, Na'iri, and Andiu—these might be described as campaigns east of the Euphrates<sup>300</sup>—while the second group comprises the expeditions against Ḫatti, Amurru, Tyre, Sidon, (Bīt)Ḫumri, Udu-mu, and Palaštu—these might be described as the expeditions against lands west of the Euphrates.<sup>301</sup> Note that the summary report on the conquest of the countries just enumerated is followed by a special statement on an expedition against Damascus, which probably took place on the return from Palaštu, and which ended with the payment of a large tribute by King Mari'u.

It is evident that the conquests reported in lines 11-18 of the Saba'a stele are identical with the second of the two groups of conquests referred to on the stone slab, even though the Saba'a stele instead of singly enumerating the various conquered countries only summarily re-

ports the subjection of "the kings of the wide [land of Ḫatti]"—this term, of course, used here in the sense of Syria plus Palestine. Especially it may be noted that also in the inscription of the Saba'a stele the summary report on the conquest of the western countries is followed by a special report on the payment of an enormous tribute by Mari'u of Damascus. Since both the Kalḫu and the Saba'a inscriptions mention the exact amount of the tribute paid by Mari'u, while in the case of the other countries no amount is stated, it is obvious that reporting the payment of the tribute by King Mari'u was the main object of the Kalḫu slab inscription as well as the Saba'a stele.

Now it will be observed that the conquests enumerated in the first group of the slab inscription correspond to the expeditions reported in the eponym chronicle for the years 809 to 806, namely, the expeditions to Media (809), Gūzāna (808), and the land of the Manneans (807 and 806). It is equally obvious that the conquests enumerated in the second group of the slab inscription correspond to the expeditions reported in the eponym chronicle for the years 805 to 802, namely, the expeditions to the country Arpadda (805), to the city Ḫazāzu (804), to the city Ba'lu (803), and *ana eli tāmtim*, "to the shore of the sea" (802). Both Arpad and Ḫazazu are situated in northern Syria<sup>302</sup> which in the slab inscription is referred to as Ḫatti; Ba'lu apparently is a city in the land designated in the slab inscription as Amurru<sup>303</sup> while the coast of the sea is to be understood as corresponding to Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia of the slab inscription.

From these observations it is quite

<sup>300</sup> The inscription actually describes this complex of conquered lands as reaching from Mount Siluna of the East to the Great Sea of the East. One would of course expect this description to be continued with "and from there to the Euphrates." The present text gives only the geographical position of the two countries mentioned first and last in this group.

<sup>301</sup> This group of conquests actually is described in the inscription as reaching from the Euphrates to the Great Sea of the West. One would of course expect a more specific statement indicating to which point of the Mediterranean both in the north and in the south his conquests extended.

<sup>302</sup> For Ḫazāzu see Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 56.

<sup>303</sup> For a suggestion that Ba'lu possibly is Ba'albek see RIA I, 327.

obvious that in the inscription of the Saba'a stele the temporal clause, "in the fifth year of my accession to the throne," refers not merely to the expedition of Adad-nerâri's ninth year (i.e., 802), which reached as its farthest points the countries Udumu and Palaštu, but to the whole group of campaigns reported for the years 805-802 in the eponym chronicle, but considered or at least referred to by the author of the Saba'a inscription as one single expedition to Philistia. To be sure, the year 805 B.C., in which according to the eponym chronicle occurred the expedition to Arpad, the first event of this collective expedition to Philistia, is not the fifth, but the sixth official year of Adad-nerâri III. It will be observed, however, that the historical report of the Saba'a inscription begins with the statement that in his fifth year Adad-nerâri ordered his army to march to Philistia, and it is of course quite possible that this order was given already at the end of the year 806, although the expedition itself started only in the beginning of 805. It is even possible—and indeed very probable—that the expedition against the countries beyond the Euphrates started from Assyria in the second half of 806 and that this fact, although of course mentioned in the official annals, is not mentioned in the eponym chronicle for the simple reason that in this chronicle the content of the annals is reduced to such a degree that for each year, even though in some years two different campaigns against two quite different countries were undertaken, only one single campaign is recorded, namely, that which seemed most important. In 806 this apparently was the second campaign against the Manneans, which evidently started in the early months of the year, and in favor of which the campaign in the west, undertaken later in the year and perhaps only with advance forces, as a con-

sequence of that principle had to be disregarded.

With this result of our examination of the Saba'a stele passage vanishes the last theoretical possibility of proving conclusively from the extant inscriptions the theory of Sammuramat's regency during Adad-nerâri III's first regnal years, and with that also vanishes the possibility of proving, or even showing as probable, that Sammuramat was the supernumerary ruler of the summary of Synchronistic King List A.

#### VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the foregoing communications plus the chronological list added at the end of this report, practically the complete factual content of the new king list is communicated. As far as that is concerned, the final publication will bring nothing new. It will be more or less the application of the information gained from the new king list to a much larger field of problems that will constitute the main difference of the final publication from this preliminary report. That there are many such problems will have been realized, I believe, from my presentation of the comparatively few problems treated in the above communications. In these, I have restricted my efforts to a rather narrow field, my aim having been simply the elucidation of what the king-list text itself tells us and how this compares with immediately or closely parallel information from other Assyrian sources. The very important task of harmonizing the chronological information derived from the king list with the Babylonian chronological tradition, the known synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian kings, Egyptian datings, the synchronisms between Babylonian or Assyrian kings with Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty rulers, etc.,

have been left completely untouched. These problems and their solution will, of course, represent one of the main features of the final publication. This latter—if it is not too boresome to mention it here—will give a complete list of those synchronisms, with indication of the source material and, where necessary, with annotations. It will also contain a year-by-year synopsis of the Assyrian and Babylonian chronology based on the synchronisms and the reigns of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings; a table of the intervals between certain rulers as stated in the inscriptions; lists and an analysis of the *limmu* period schemes of the various *limmu* lists and their relation to the regnal periods; the genealogies of the Assyrian kings in the form of pedigrees as well as a table of the genealogies found in

the inscriptions of the various kings; lists of chronological data in historical texts, business documents, and so forth.

Considering the enormous output, in the past, of theories concerning the Assyrian kings and their chronology—by far the greater part of which has proved untenable in the light of later discoveries and most of which, as we can see now, might well have been avoided by refraining from premature speculations—I believe I will be pardoned when, in conclusion, I give expression to the hope that the communication in this report of the whole Assyrian king-list chronology will not result in a flood of published first thoughts concerning the co-ordination of Babylonian and Assyrian chronology and other subjects which are not touched in this preliminary report.

#### THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION\*

|                                       | Official Reign | <i>Limmu</i> Period |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tudia                              |                |                     |
| 2. Adamu                              |                |                     |
| 3. Iangi                              |                |                     |
| 4. Kirlâmu                            |                |                     |
| 5. Harharu                            |                |                     |
| 6. Mandaru                            |                |                     |
| 7. Imšu                               |                |                     |
| 8. HARŞU                              |                |                     |
| 9. Didânu                             |                |                     |
| 10. Hanû                              |                |                     |
| 11. Zuabu                             |                |                     |
| 12. Nuabu                             |                |                     |
| 13. Abâzu                             |                |                     |
| 14. TILû                              |                |                     |
| 15. Aşarah                            |                |                     |
| 16. Uşpia                             |                |                     |
| 17. Apiaşal, son of Uşpia             |                |                     |
| 18. Halû, <sup>1</sup> son of Apiaşal |                |                     |
| 19. Samânu, son of Halû <sup>1</sup>  |                |                     |
| 20. Ha(i)jânu, son of Samânu          |                |                     |
| 21. Ilu-Mer, son of Ha(i)jânu         |                |                     |
| 22. Iakmesi, son of Ilu-Mer           |                |                     |
| 23. Iakmeni, son of Iakmesi           |                |                     |

\* With corrections and additions from contemporary sources. The notes accompanying this list appear at the end of the list.

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—*Continued*

|  | Official Reign  | Limmu Period |
|--|-----------------|--------------|
| 24. Iazkur-ilu, son of Iakmeni                           |                 |              |
| 25. Ilu-kapkapi, son of Iazkur-ilu                       |                 |              |
| 26. Aminu, son of Ilu-kapkapi                            |                 |              |
| 27. Sulili, son of Aminu                                 |                 |              |
| 28. Kikkia   |                 |              |
| 29. Akia   |                 |              |
| 30. Puzur-Aššūr I  |                 |              |
| 31. Šallim-aḥḥē, <sup>2</sup> son of Puzur-Aššūr I       |                 |              |
| 32. Ilušumma, son of Šallim-aḥḥē                         |                 | -1853        |
| 33. Ērišu I, son of Ilušumma                             | 40              | 1852-1813    |
| 34. Ikūnu, son of Ērišu I                                |                 | 1812-        |
| 35. Šarru-kīn, son of Ikūnu                              |                 |              |
| 36. Puzur-Aššūr II, son of Šarru-kīn I                   |                 |              |
| 37. Narām-Šin, son of Puzur-Aššūr II                     |                 |              |
| 38. Ērišu II, son of Narām-Šin                           |                 | -1727        |
| 39. Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapi                     | 33              | 1726-1694    |
| 40. Išme-Dagān, son of Šamši-Adad I                      | 40              | 1693-1654    |
| 41. Aššūr-dugul, son of a "nobody"                       | 6               | 1653-1648    |
| 42. Aššūr-apla-idi, son of a nobody                      | 0               | 1648         |
| 43. Nāšir-Šin, son of a nobody                           | 0               | 1648         |
| 44. Šin-namir, son of a nobody                           | 0               | 1648         |
| 45. Ipqi-Ištar, son of a nobody                          | 0               | 1648         |
| 46. Adad-šalūlu, son of a nobody                         | 0               | 1648         |
| 47. Adasi, son of a nobody                               | 0               | 1648         |
| 48. Bēlu-bāni, son of Adasi                              | 10              | 1647-1638    |
| 49. Libajju  | 17              | 1637-1621    |
| 50. Šarma-Adad I   | 12              | 1620-1609    |
| 51. ĒN-TAR-Šin, son of Šarma-Adad I                      | 12              | 1608-1597    |
| 52. Bazzajju, son of Bēlu-bāni                           | 28              | 1596-1569    |
| 53. Lullajju, son of a nobody                            | 6               | 1568-1563    |
| 54. šū-Ninua, son of Bazzajju                            | 14              | 1562-1549    |
| 55. Šarma-Adad II, son of šū-Ninua                       | 3               | 1548-1546    |
| 56. Ērišu III, son of šū-Ninua                           | 13              | 1545-1533    |
| 57. Šamši-Adad II, son of Ērišu III                      | 6               | 1532-1527    |
| 58. Išme-Dagān II, son of Šamši-Adad II                  | 16              | 1526-1511    |
| 59. Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagān, son of šū-Ninua   | 16              | 1510-1495    |
| 60. Aššūr-nerāri I, son of Išme-Dagān II                 | 26              | 1494-1469    |
| 61. Puzur-Aššūr III, son of Aššūr-nerāri I               | 14 <sup>3</sup> | 1468-1455    |
| 62. Enlil-nāšir I, son of Puzur-Aššūr III                | 13              | 1454-1442    |
| 63. Nūr-ili, son of Enlil-nāšir I                        | 12              | 1441-1430    |
| 64. Aššūr-šadūni, son of Nūr-ili                         | 0 <sup>4</sup>  | 1430         |
| 65. Aššūr-rabi I, son of Enlil-nāšir I                   | 0               | 1430         |
| 66. Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē I, son of Aššūr-rabi I <sup>5</sup> | 0               | 1430         |
| 67. Enlil-nāšir II, son of Aššūr-rabi I <sup>6</sup>     | 6               | 1429-1424    |

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—*Continued*

|   | Official Reign   | Limmu Period |
|---|------------------|--------------|
| 68. Aššūr-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-rabi I <sup>7</sup>       | 7                | 1423-1417    |
| 69. Aššūr-bēl-nišēšu, son of Adad-nerāri II                 | 9                | 1416-1408    |
| 70. Aššūr-rīm-nišēšu, son of Adad-nerāri II <sup>8</sup>    | 8                | 1407-1400    |
| 71. Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē, II, son of Aššūr-rīm-nišēšu           | 10               | 1399-1390    |
| 72. Eriša-Adad I, son of Aššūr-bēl-nišēšu                   | 27               | 1389-1363    |
| 73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I, son of Eriša-Adad I                    | 36               | 1362-1327    |
| 74. Enlil-nerāri, son of Aššūr-uballiṭ I                    | 10               | 1326-1317    |
| 75. Arik-dēn-ili, son of Enlil-nerāri                       | 12               | 1316-1305    |
| 76. Adad-nerāri I, son of Arik-dēn-ili <sup>9</sup>         | 32               | 1304-1273    |
| 77. Šulmānu-ašarēd I, son of Adad-nerāri I                  | 30               | 1272-1243    |
| 78. Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd I              | 37               | 1242-1206    |
| 79. Aššūr-nādin-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I              | 3 <sup>10</sup>  | 1205-1203    |
| 80. Aššūr-nerāri III, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apli <sup>11</sup> | 6                | 1202-1197    |
| 81. Enlil-kudurra-ušur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I            | 5                | 1196-1192    |
| 82. Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Nabû-dān                      | 13 <sup>12</sup> | 1191-1179    |
| 83. Aššūr-dān I, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur                   | 46               | 1178-1133    |
| 84. Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, son of Aššūr-dān I               | 0                | 1133         |
| 85. Mutakkil-Nusku, son of Aššūr-dān I                      | 0                | 1133         |
| 86. Aššūr-rēša-iši I, son of Mutakkil-Nusku                 | 18               | 1132-1115    |
| 87. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, son of Aššūr-rēša-iši I          | 39               | 1114-1076    |
| 88. Ašarēd-apil-Ekur, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I          | 2                | 1075-1074    |
| 89. Aššūr-bēl-kala, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I            | 18               | 1073-1056    |
| 90. Eriša-Adad II, son of Aššūr-bēl-kala                    | 2                | 1055-1054    |
| 91. Šamši-Adad IV, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I             | 4                | 1053-1050    |
| 92. Aššūr-nāšir-apil I, son of Šamši-Adad IV                | 19               | 1049-1031    |
| 93. Šulmānu-ašarēd II, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apil I            | 12               | 1030-1019    |
| 94. Aššūr-nerāri IV, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd II               | 6                | 1018-1013    |
| 95. Aššūr-rabi II, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apil I                | 41               | 1012-972     |
| 96. Aššūr-rēša-iši II, son of Aššūr-rabi II                 | 5                | 971-967      |

2<sup>13</sup> 1074-1073

1072-

- 1049

19<sup>14</sup> 1048-103012<sup>14</sup> 1029-10186<sup>14</sup> 1017-1012

1011-

## THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—Continued

|  | Official Reign        |  | Limmu Period       |                         |
|--|-----------------------|--|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 97. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II, son of Aššūr-rēša-iši II           | 32                    | 966-935 <sup>15</sup>                        | 33 <sup>16</sup>   | 965-933 <sup>16</sup>   |
| 98. Aššūr-dân II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II                | 23                    | 934-912                                      |                    |                         |
| 99. Adad-nerâri II, son of Aššūr-dân II                        | 21                    | 911-891                                      |                    | -890                    |
| 100. Tukulti-Ninurta II, son of Adad-nerâri II                 | 7                     | 890-884                                      | 7 <sup>17</sup>    | 889-883                 |
| 101. Aššūr-nâšir-apli II, son of Tukulti-Ninurta II            | 25                    | 883-859                                      | 25 <sup>18</sup>   | 882-858                 |
| 102. Šulmānu-ašarêd III, son of Aššūr-nâšir-apli II            | 35                    | 858-824                                      | 35 <sup>19</sup>   | 857-823                 |
| 103. Šamši-Adad V, son of Šulmānu-ašarêd III                   | 13                    | 823-811                                      | 13                 | 822-810                 |
| 104. Adad-nerâri III, son of Šamši-Adad V                      | 28                    | 810-783                                      | 28 <sup>20</sup>   | 809-782                 |
| 105. Šulmānu-ašarêd IV, son of Adad-nerâri III                 | 10                    | 782-773                                      | 10                 | 781-772                 |
| 106. Aššūr-dân III, son of Adad-nerâri III                     | 18                    | 772-755                                      | 18                 | 771-754                 |
| 107. Aššūr-nerâri V, son of Adad-nerâri III                    | 10                    | 754-745 <sup>21</sup>                        | 10 <sup>22</sup>   | 753-744 <sup>22</sup>   |
| 108. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, son of Adad-nerâri III           | 18 <sup>23</sup>      | 744-727 <sup>23</sup>                        | 20 <sup>24</sup>   | 743-724 <sup>24</sup>   |
| 109. Šulmānu-ašarêd V, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III          | 5                     | 726-722                                      | 4 <sup>25</sup>    | 723-720 <sup>25</sup>   |
| 110. Šarrukīn II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III <sup>26</sup> | 17                    | 721-705                                      | 32 <sup>27</sup>   | 719-688 <sup>27</sup>   |
| 111. Šīn-aḫḫê-erība, son of Šarrukīn II                        | 24 <sup>28</sup>      | 704-681                                      | 38+x <sup>29</sup> | 687-650-x <sup>29</sup> |
| 112. Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, son of Šīn-aḫḫê-erība                   | 12                    | 680-669                                      | —                  | —                       |
| 113. Aššūr-bāni-apli, son of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina                  | 36(+x) <sup>30</sup>  | 668-633(-x) <sup>30</sup>                    | —                  | —                       |
| 114. Aššūr-etel-ilāni, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli <sup>31</sup>    | 4(+y) <sup>32</sup>   | 632(-x)-629(-x-y)                            |                    |                         |
| 115. Šīn-šumu-lišir <sup>33</sup>                              | 0(+z?) <sup>34</sup>  |  |                    |                         |
| 116. Šīn-šarra-iškun, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli                   | 7+x+5 <sup>35</sup>   | (x+)-623-612 <sup>36</sup>                   |                    |                         |
| 117. Aššūr-uballiṭ II <sup>37</sup>                            | 4 <sup>37</sup> (+y?) | 611-608 <sup>37</sup> (-y) <sup>37, 38</sup> |                    |                         |

## NOTES TO LIST OF KINGS

- King list (Khorsabad): Ḫalê (apparently genitive form).
- Inscriptions: Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um.
- Preserved only in Nassouhi list.
- King list: 1 month.
- Probable, but the Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫê's genealogy, has only *mār mās-šur*. . . .
- The Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Enlil-nāšir II's genealogy, has *aḫ-šur*, "his (=Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫê I's) brother." On Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫê I's father, see preceding note.
- So according to inscriptions of Aššūr-rim-nišešu, Eriba-Adad I, and Aššūr-uballiṭ I. The Khorsabad list erroneously makes Aššūr-nerâri II the son (instead of the brother) of his predecessor Enlil-nāšir.

8. So according to Aššūr-rim-nišešu's own inscription. King list erroneously: "son (instead of brother) of Aššūr-bêl-nišešu."

9. So according to Adad-nerâri I's own inscriptions and the Nassouhi list. Khorsabad list erroneously: "brother of Arik-dên-ili."

10. Nassouhi list: 4.

11. Nassouhi list: son of Aššūr-nādin-apli.

12. So Nassouhi list; Khorsabad list: 3.

13. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 3 (period summary).

14. *Ibid.*, col. 4 (period summary).

15. End of Nassouhi list.

16. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 5 (period summary).

17. Concluded from inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta plus Canon II; Canon II (evidently by mistake omitting one *limmu*): 6.

18. So according to Canons I plus II; KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 6 (period summary), probably omitting one *limmu*: 24.

19. Rm. 580 omits the 6th *limmu*. Canon I divides Šulmānu-ašarêd III's *limmu* period into a first period of 30 years (857-828) and a second of 5 years (827-823).

20. Canon III, owing to the insertion of a supernumerary *limmu*, probably enumerated 29 *limmu*'s.

21. End of Khorsabad list.

22. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary), Canon III and Canon II. Canon I and the eponym chronicles: 8 (753-746).

23. So according to the old traditional system of counting the regnal years. According to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's own counting (including his accession year): 19 (745-727).

24. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8; Canon III; and apparently Canon II. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 18 (745-728).

25. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary) and Canon III. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 5 (727-723).

26. So according to the fayence plaque of Šarrukīn, published by Unger in *Publications des Musées d'Antiquités de Stamboul IX*.

27. So evidently KAVI, No. 21 ff., cols. 8 and 9 (period summary) and Canon III. Canon I (and evidently also Canon II and the eponym chronicles): 17 (722-706). Canon IV probably 17 (723-707).

28. According to another system found in several business documents with double datings: 25 (705-681) or rather 24 (705-682).

29. Canon I and evidently Canon II and 82-5-22, 121:24 (705-682); Canon IV: probably 24 (704-681).

30. To date, the latest tablets from Aššūr-bāni-apli's reign—as far as I know—are Krückmann, NRV (1933), No. 132, dated: *Nippurki arêš Ulûlu u-17-KAM MU-36-KAM* "AN-ŠĀR-bāni-apli šār kiššati, and No. 13, dated: *Nippurki arêš . . . u- . . . -KAM* MU-36-KAM "AN-ŠĀR-bāni-apli šār . . . . Other tablets from Nippur dated in the 26th (Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 1), the 31st (Contenau, TC XII, No. 5), the 32[+]. (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, No. 36) and the 34(?)th year (*ibid.*, No. 37). The utmost limit for *x* would be 5 years (see n. 35).

31. According to KAVI, No. 182, col. 4, l. 7, immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli.

32. To date, the latest tablet from Aššūr-etel-ilāni's reign is Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 5, dated: *Nippurki Araḫamna u-1-KAM MU-4-KAM* Aššūr(=AN-ŠĀR)-etel(=NIR-GAL)-ilāni[s], šār māt Aš-šurki. Other tablets from Nippur are dated in the 2d (Clay, *op. cit.*, Nos. 4 and 6) and the 3d year (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, Nos. 104 and 38; cf. also No. 35, l. 11, for which see n. 34). The utmost limit for *y* would be 5 years (see n. 35). Unfortunately BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated in the accession year of Sin-šumu-lišir omits the month in the date and therefore can give us no hint—by means of a comparison with BE VIII 1, No. 5, which is dated in the first day of the 8th month of Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year—as to whether this year could have been the last year of Aššūr-etel-ilāni. Nor is it possible to calculate a sufficiently definite date from the fact that in the contract delivery of sheep in the month of Ulûlu is stipulated. Possibly the contract was made in the year preceding that in which delivery was to be made; in this case the contract could have been made in any of the seven months from Ulûlu to Adar of the year in which Sin-šumu-lišir ascended the throne. Note that TC XII, No. 14, is dated in the 11th month of Sin-šarra-iškun's accession year, and that, if Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year actually should be his last, and furthermore should be identical with Sin-šarra-iškun's accession year, the reign of Sin-šumu-lišir, as it is attested to date, could well have covered part of the time between the 8th and the 11th month.

33. To date, the only evidence for Sin-šumu-lišir as king of Aššūr is the New York Metropolitan Museum tablet, Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated (with omission of the month): *Nippurki* 13U-13-KAM MU-SAG-NAM-LUGAL-LA 14 *Sin-šumu-lišir* (=dxxx-mu-si-sā) šār māt Aš-šurki. His position between Aššūr-etel-ilāni and Sin-šarra-iškun (both sons of Aššūr-bāni-apli) follows from the simple deliberation that if he belongs in this period there is no other place for him than between the two kings just referred to. The donation documents of Aššūr-etel-ilāni, Johns, ADD, Nos. 649 and 650, show that a Sin-šumu-lišir (=xxx-mu-si-sā and dxxx-mu-gi[s])—who by his paternal care for the young prince as well as by his political and military activity (perhaps he was even instrumental in bringing about the king's accession to the throne) had deserved well of Aššūr-etel-ilāni and for this reason had acquired his special favor—at that time was an eminent personage in Assyria. It is therefore extremely likely that this Sin-šumu-lišir and the king Sin-šumu-lišir are identical. For this reason—as well as because according to the synchronistic king list KAVI, No. 182, Aššūr-etel-ilāni was the immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli—he can have become king of Assyria only after Aššūr-etel-ilāni. On the other hand no king of Assyria could have been recognized as ruler in the Babylonian city Nippur after Sin-šarra-iškun, since in the last year of this king's reign (612) Nineveh and Assyria proper were conquered and since in that year the seat

